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GRECO-ROMAN INFLUENCES ON JEWISH ART FORMS

IN PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

300 B.C. - A.D. 100

This thesis was presented to the University of Keele
on the 1st of October 1968 for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am pleased to acknowledge during the compilation of this thesis the constant help and counsel of Professor J. M. T. Charlton of the Classics Department of the University of Keele, and to thank him for his continual good offices in all that I attempted.

I would also like to thank Mr. G. Nussbaum of the Classics Department of the University of Keele for his guidance and encouragement at an earlier stage in my post-graduate studies, and for directing my interest to Hellenistic Palestine while I was still an undergraduate.

The first-hand work presented in this thesis in the sphere of material remains is the result of eight months spent in Syria-Palestine on the 1967 Jerusalem Studentship of the British School of Archaeology. I wish to thank the Council of the School for this generous award, and particularly Mr. P. J. Parr of the Institute of Archaeology of London University for his support and encouragement in this.

It would have been impossible for me to go to Palestine without the unfailing financial generosity of the Senate of the University of Keele, to whom I give my warmest thanks.

Finally I take pleasure in thanking the authorities of the Palestine Archaeological Museum and of the Jerusalem Department of Antiquities for access to much unpublished material from September 1966 to March 1967.

SYNOPSIS

In order to examine the impact of Greco-Roman art and architecture on Jewish Palestine from the early Hellenistic period until the Second Revolt an exhaustive corpus of material is presented. The earliest monuments are the palaces of Hyrcanus at Araq el-Emir, and the Tomb of the Bene Hezir, the Pyramid of Zachariah and the Tomb of Jason at Jerusalem. Nearly all other tombs, and the whole body of the ossuaries and sarcophagi can be confidently dated to the Herodian period. Arguments for dating used in the thesis are drawn from literature, onomastics, palaeography, general historical circumstances, pottery, coins, tomb-forms and architecture. A great deal of attention is applied to this important preliminary research. In addition comparisons are made with the tombs of a Sidonian colony of the 3rd - 2nd centuries BC at Marisa (Beit Jibrin) and with the later Jewish catacombs at Beth Shearim. The other material for the corpus is provided by the Jewish coins of the period, and by the remains of Herod's palace-fortresses at Masada and Herodion, of a winter pleasure-palace of Herod or Archelaus at Jericho, of a Herodian theatre and fortified

walls at Caesarea and of possible Herodian remains at Sebaste. Exhaustive reference is made to the valuable passages of the Jewish historian Josephus which describe the building activities of Herod.

There emerges a clear picture of the acceptance of Greek architectural forms and decor, but the rejection in the Herodian period of all living representations. The older architectural traditions of the area, derived from Egypt, Persia and Phoenicia, are found to exert a continuing influence in the earlier remains, but to be totally rejected in favour of Greco-Roman forms in the Herodian period. At the same time the ossuaries continue long-established popular traditions in the area, which were reinforced by Greco-Roman minor arts. As the Herodian period progresses a greater feeling of confidence emerges, which finds its expression in orientalising tendencies that disrupt Greek forms which may never have been properly understood. Alexandria is looked to as the pre-eminent influence in mediating late Hellenistic forms and styles to Palestine. The earliest forms are good Hellenistic ones. The disruption sets in in the Herodian period, when vegetal decor derived from late Hellenistic art is reformed according to the assertive orientalising

tendencies of Jewish craftsmen. The tympanum of the Tomb of the Judges and the lower frieze of the Tomb of Helena may be regarded as the orientalising of the forms adopted from Alexandria on the tympanum of Jehosaphat c. 40 BC. Two 'Neo-Attic' sarcophagi are found; the rest exhibit the same developed Jewish vegetal style as the tomb-facades. The ossuaries mainly concern themselves with geometric traditions of decor, or highly stylised representations connected with the After Life or the Temple. Coins form a contrast to the rest of the material in being a means of propaganda - those of the Hasmonaeans and Herodians assert the strength and prosperity of the Jewish state, but those of the Revolts dissociate the Jews from their Hellenistic environment, and assert the demand for the independence of the Temple-State. The buildings of Herod reflect totally hellenised taste in a provincial late Hellenistic style - mosaics, 'Incrustation' stucco, plans of palaces, etc. And in Herod's buildings distinctively Roman influence is clear - the Roman form of baths and of the theatre, and at Jericho opus reticulatum and quadratum work with concrete bonding-techniques. The two polychrome mosaics of the Western palace of Masada are fine products of late Hellenistic form, but here too the dominance of the special Jewish vegetal style, developed from the late

Hellenistic acanthus-and-scroll motif, is once more asserted
in Herodian Jewish art.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Refer either to the special bibliographies or the bibliography with the conclusions. In addition the following are used:

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BM	British Museum
DF	'Gli scavi del 'Dominus flevit'', Part I, 1958
ILN	Illustrated London News
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JJPES	Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
LA	Liber Annuus
OGFWG	Organ der Gesellschaft zur Forderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
PEQ	Quarterly of the Palestine Exploration Fund
ProcJPES	Proceedings of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society

QDAP	Quarterly of the Mandatory Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RA	Revue Archeologique
RB	Revue Biblique
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

INTRODUCTION

In order to establish the extent of the hellenisation of Jewish art forms in Palestine in this period I give weight to the following considerations:

1. All of the remains must be collected and studied as an exhaustive corpus.
2. That the remains so collected can indeed be dated securely to this period must be established beyond any reasonable doubt.
3. That my 'conclusions' must be kept as distinct as possible from my 'corpus'.

The result in terms of presentation is that:

- a) a corpus of Jewish art is presented in Parts I (ossuaries and sarcophagi), II (tombs), VII (palace of Hyrcanus-Tobiah), VIII (Jewish coins) and IX (buildings of Herod).
- b) attempts at accurate dating on every ground upon which I can draw are continually made, and Parts III, IV, V and VI are largely devoted to this, as well as Part I, fasc. iii.
- c) my conclusions are developed and presented en bloc as Part X.

PART ONE

This part of my work presents catalogues of the ossuaries and sarcophagi which have been found mainly in and around Jerusalem. The basic aim is to present, describe, analyse and tentatively interpret the motifs used to adorn these Jewish burial-chests.

Fasc.i presents the catalogue of ossuary decor in an ordered sequence from the most interesting to the most banal. It is accompanied by a bibliography for each ossuary.

Fasc.ii is a description in general terms of the ossuaries, and a selective account of how scholarly interest became involved with them and how cumulative knowledge resolved the problem of their purpose.

Fasc.iii is as exhaustive a catalogue of the individuals mentioned on ossuary inscriptions as I can gather. The catalogue contributes in its own right through my final analyses to our knowledge of the hellenisation of Palestinian Jewry

PART ONE

from 40 BC - AD 70 - in the spheres of language and nomenclature. It is presented in order to establish that there is no discrepancy between the Jewish names found in this period in the literary sources and the names found on the ossuary inscriptions. In this way it is a confirmation of dating criteria presented in Parts III and IV. It is accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography.

Fasc.iv is included because it has recently been challenged that the ossuaries are Jewish. An annotated bibliography is an important introduction to the fascicle.

Fasc.v presents a catalogue of sarcophagi with an analysis of their decor; also of a few ossuaries which share the technical and artistic characteristics of sarcophagi. This fascicle has an important introduction.

Fasc.vi discusses the style of the ossuary decor and of the sarcophagi - techniques of carving, selection of motifs and the conceptual aesthetic which appealed to Jerusalemite craftsmen of this

PART ONE

period. The conclusion is that Greek motifs and aesthetics contributed little to the popular art traditions established in Jerusalem as expressed in the style of the ossuaries.

Initially the influence of Greek plant decor was strong in the selection of motifs for the sarcophagi, but the forms developed from this are specifically Jewish, and the style and techniques of carving non-Greek.

Fasc.vii presents my own views on the criteria according to which some of the motifs employed for the ossuaries may be regarded as symbolic. Such symbolism expresses an absorption in the Jewish cult and in Jewish religious ideas, and not in the Greek world of forms.

AN ILLUSTRATED AND ORDERED CATALOGUE OF THE
DECORATION OF THE OSSUARIES

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to present

- a) any ossuaries with unusual motifs, whether these are already published or not. In fact, many are not.
- b) a sample of ossuaries from museums in order to demonstrate what the common, formal elements of ossuary decor are.

Nearly all of the ossuaries which will be described or discussed are illustrated by photographs, mostly taken by the author in Jerusalem. In the catalogue each ossuary will be referred to in a numbered sequence. Details of where they were found and where they are now kept are reserved for the explanations which accompany the folder of photographs; it is sufficient to say here that the vast bulk are from Jerusalem and the villages about it, and are now to be found in museums in Jerusalem.

How representative of all the ossuaries - presumably several thousands - which were produced is the decor which adorns the sides and lids of those which survive? It should be realised that of the ossuaries which are excavated attention has always focused on the ones that are inscribed with the name and lineage of the deceased or the ones that are adorned in unusual and

attractive fashion. In fact the great majority of them are either very simply adorned (as the museum groups will show) or were left plain. These last - the undecorated and uninscribed ones - tend not to find their way even into museum basements and storerooms. Their number can only be guessed at; fig.1 shows a group from the environs of Jerusalem, brought in since 1948 and stored in an open courtyard at the Palestine Archaeological or Rockefeller Museum.

No representations of human or animal forms occur on any ossuary, which is a staggering fact when we consider the number which has survived. Most have a simple repertoire, a basic, formal grammar of dentate frames or zig-zags, of division into two or three 'panels' on the main face which is decorated, and of rosettes and roundels and geometrised plant-forms. But some few have some outstanding motifs - masonry, entries, arcades, amphorai, tree and leaf forms, flowers and fantasies blended together from the worlds of architecture and plant-life. In some cases the motif which is outstanding is achieved freehand rather than with the compasses and rule which are the usual tools.

The sequence of the catalogue is ordered so as to present first the more unusual motifs in small groups under headings and to work down to the most simple and plain forms. But in each case all of the decor of any particular ossuary is given together

in order to avoid the artificial segregation of motifs. It must be realised that in the great majority of instances only one of the long sides of the ossuary was decorated. Decoration took the form of a frame dividing the ossuary into two or three panels. The two end-panels were adorned with large, geometric rosettes; the central panel was

a) a thin, vertical framing-motif enclosing a narrow, vertical strip of geometric decor.

b) a similar narrow strip, but enclosing a more interesting leaf or plant form.

c) not formally a panel at all, but occupied by an elaborate structure or plant-form or cup or fantasy.

In addition a small but very neat motif which I have called a roundel is often present as an additional geometric element in a great variety of positions on the face of the ossuary.

Some of the geometric motifs are so common that it will be convenient to refer to them by a set formula. Thus:

T dentate or zig-zag motif in a thin framing strip between straight, incised lines. This is quite often doubled, and occasionally trebled.

Tf2 denotes this motif round the face on two sides (Tf3,Tf4)

Tr denotes this tothing round the rosette, enclosed by incised rings which are formed with compasses.

Tc denotes tothing in vertical strips on either side of the central panel.

- P denotes a frame of incised lines only.
- H denotes a strip incised with what looks like a succession of arrowheads, triangles, hearts, leaves or diamonds. The shapes are all very similar, and are formed by the edges of chisel-gouges. As above with T we may have Hf2, Hc etc.
- 2R denotes the two rosettes within circles which appear on so many of the ossuaries.
- 2R6 denotes the number of arms or points which the rosette has.
- 2R6c or 2R6w or 2R6r signify respectively that the points are made with compasses in opposing arcs which form petals or leaves, with compasses to form a whirl-rosette with arcs all taking the eye in the same direction, or with a rule.

It will be assumed, as is so in most cases, that the petals or points of the rosette are formed by long and deep gouges of the chisel in two sharp and opposed planes; where this technique is not used comment will be made. A very small number of ossuaries have a different technique of workmanship, being carved in relief like sarcophagi. The description of these is given in the section on sarcophagi. A more considerable group is worked with only light incisions, lacking entirely the deep-gouged Kerbschnitt which gives its chiaroscuro quality to the great majority. This

group is considered at the end of the catalogue; it will be seen that some motifs are found only here, but that the group is wholly plebeian.

It may be asked why I do not examine a more random sample of material - for instance the entire collection of ossuaries from particular tombs. My defence of my selection is fourfold: a) In many publications the decoration of the ossuaries is not described in any detail, and yet many of these ossuaries must be included in the museum collections which I have studied and photographed.

b) the collections of ossuaries in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and its courtyard offer many instances of the most simple types of decoration.

c) I am describing material which I have seen and studied on the spot.

d) I have this material conveniently to hand as a small corpus.

COLUMNS

1. One of the finest ossuaries I have seen. The main face has a wide olive-leaf border within which are two large, intricately worked rosettes, a central fleurs-de-lys ornament, a small rosette form at each angle and two columns. The columns have narrow, fluted shafts upon high, stepped platforms which are in fact huge representations of a typical Ionic base with the following profiles from top to bottom - astragal, trochilus, astragal, torus, double astragal, trochilus, astragal, torus, astragal, plinth. The capitals are a schematic Corinthian form with a bead-and-reel above and below. On the lid of the ossuary is a continuous arcade of eight arches which rest upon the capitals of nine columns. The bases, shafts and capitals of these nine columns are far more perfunctory, though the shafts are still fluted like the two columns already described. The capitals are an odd shape, and are adorned with rosettes. There are also rosettes within each arch. Four small pomegranates are represented in the olive-spray frame.(fig.2)
2. Tf3; 2R6c; in each upper angle a leaf framed by a bracket of incised lines; at the bottom left a schematic representation of a palm-tree; in the centre a large column upon a platform of three steps. Within the top step at each end is a small leaf. The column has no base; its shaft is fluted, but far too wide for any realistic representation. The form of the capital may be that of

an echinus or bell below the volutes, which do not project horizontally as they would in the normal Ionic capital, but vertically. The face of the capital is adorned with three types of motif, representing moulded strips - a wavy line, vertical strokes and the Greek fret. (fig. 3)

3. Tf3; 2R6c; a roundel in each upper angle; at the centre a column. The column is very similar to that just described - with the same platform of three steps, the unnaturally wide but fluted shaft, the absence of the base which one would expect. The capital too is still Ionic, but rather different; it has a low echinus and volutes which rise vertically and are scratched on rather irregularly. A large fret occupies the whole face of the capital between its volutes. The fluting of the shaft is odd, since vertical incisions which are carried the length of the shaft produce a double fillet between each flute; this type of fluting, never found on a genuine column, recurs on other ossuaries. (fig. 4)

4. Hf4; 2R6c extended to an attractive, all-over pattern and with small points gouged out at its perimeter; roundels at each angle; the column motif. The column stands on a platform of seven crude and irregular steps. Its shaft is slim and fluted, and stands on a simple base. But above the shaft the motif ceases to be a column and becomes a fantasy - a whirl-rosette within a toothed circle. (fig. 5)

5. Tf2; but for the rest a fantasy creation employing roundels, arcs, rosettes and fluted shafts on stepped platforms; the shafts have a sketchy base of a single torus, and are crowned by a cable moulding; the two smaller shafts support roundels and rosettes; the central one supports a plant motif. (fig. 6)

6. Tf3; Hf1; four roundels; Hr; 2R12c attractively worked; the central motif derives its shape from the column motif, but has squared outlines geometrically adorned - an olive-spray shaft supporting two multi-petalled rosettes. (fig. 7)

7. On one face 2R14c, framing motifs which recall fluting and masonry, and the column motif once more. The column is on a masonry platform of three steps, and has a wide fluted shaft. Its tall echinus with cyma profile is also fluted, and it is crowned by an abacus carved with bead-and-reel. On the other long face are 3R6c but not gouged out; Tf4; and masonry represented as isodomic courses. (fig. 8)

8. Pf3; 2R6c with points added round the perimeter of the enclosing circles to form an 'endless' design; various crude representations of leaves and trees, including four small, neat palms on the base line and the leaves within brackets as no. 2; and the column. The details of the column are different - the fluted shaft is carried right down to the base-line of the frame, and a

platform of two steps is added at each side of the shaft, not below it. The volutes emerge below the top of the fluting, and rise diagonally; above these is a square box occupied by a crude running scroll - perhaps the face of the capital, perhaps a stunted abacus or architrave block. (fig. 9)

9. Tf4; 2R6c; six roundels; the perimeter of each of the circles enclosing the rosettes is carved to form pointed leaves or hearts; the column. In this case the column is a fantasy similar to nos. 4 and 5. The wide shaft on the usual platform is crowned by a half-rosette enclosed by a masonry motif which forms an arch. (fig. 10)

10. As no. 9 but with more steps to the platform, and the bottom of the rosette presented in compressed form over the shaft. (fig. 11)

11. An olive spray frame similar to no. 1; 2R8r with doubled points; column. On the lid Tf3; 3R6c; two columns. The column on the face of the ossuary has an elaborately cut platform, a wide and squat shaft with flutes, and a Corinthian capital with volutes, curled leaves and two tiny rosettes. The two columns on the lid are of disparate size, one being squat and one thin; the shafts are crowned by flutes within a ring rather than a capital. (fig. 12)

12. Almost the same as no. 3, but the column is squatter and the platform has two steps. (fig. 13)

13. Almost the same as no. 8, but the freehand leaf and tree motifs are differently organised and leaves are added between the points of the rosettes. A leaf or tree form is set upon the steps of the platform. There is the same neat palm-tree, and the same pointed leaves in brackets. (fig. 14).

14. This is not a single column surrounded by the usual devices of ossuary ornament, but is much more nearly related to the Greek and Roman column-sarcophagi. A row of four columns drawn in outline on the face of the ossuary (not scratched or carved) supports the lower part of an entablature. The columns are more properly proportioned than elsewhere on the ossuaries - with slim, fluted shafts, well shaped volutes, abaci and Ionic bases on plinths. The bases have torus and trochilus mouldings, and perhaps the Roman cyma reversa, as at the Monument of Absalom (see II,i,17). (fig. 15)

15. Very similar to nos. 2, 3 and 12, but badly worn around the capital. (fig. 16)

16. Two large rosettes with intricate points, done with the rule; and 2R6c smaller. The dominant and finely executed central motif is a fantasy upon the column. The 'shaft' and 'capital' have

become boxed in by a toothed frame; the 'capital' is a geomet-
rised floral motif. The platform is marked with masonry, and has
leaves sprouting from it, as have the lower rosettes. (fig. 17)

17. Tf2 but with a row of roundels along the top; 2R12c with a
roundel at the centre, and small ivy-leaves on long stalks between
the rosette points; more roundels; the column. This is another
squat column; it has a shaft of ten flutes, and is set on a plat-
form of five steps, marked off like masonry. The capital is
unique and interesting - its 'volute' are roundels, and the face
of the capital between these is formed by three more roundels,
which are set in square coffers. The transition between the out-
side line of the coffers and the 'volute' is marked by curved
incisions. Two small leaves grow from the base of the shaft.
(fig. 18)

18. Unusual adornment on all four faces. On one long face Pf4,Pc;
2R6c with points added at the perimeter; column. Here the column
is a fluted shaft on a platform from which two leaves emerge, and
it is crowned by volutes and a 'pediment'. The volutes are
doubled, emerging horizontally and diagonally; the 'pediment' is
marked with masonry. At one end the column motif has been
amplified still more - the flutes are outlined, but not chiseled
out, and are simply the centre piece of a larger, rectangular
structure which has volutes, a masonry pediment and an acroterion.

Within the structure are three crude trefoils. At the other end is a crude, freehand goblet, which is puzzlingly adorned by volutes. On either side of this is a crude, eight-point star. Above is the continuation of the motif from the other long face of the ossuary - a huge, freehand scrawl of a palm-branch and of other leaves on branches. (fig. 19)

19. Apart from the toothed frame and some roundels all of this decor is very unusual. Two columns serve as side-pieces to an ornate geometrised plant-form. Below fluted shafts and the vestigial representations of bases are stepped platforms; the different treatment of the top step seems to mark it off as a plinth. Above the shaft the capital is replaced by a large roundel within a coffer which has gouged circles added at the angles; outside this are three more roundels, which vaguely recall volutes. The central motif has various stylised leaf-forms woven about a lyra shape; and at each side are attractive ivy-sprays. (fig. 20)

ENTRIES

20. A four-panelled doorway, set within an arch over curiously schematised, rectilinear supports; on either side a further, slim, vertical panel. The whole is enclosed with two rosettes inside two framing motifs around the face of this side of the ossuary. These represent masonry, and ARE FOUND ONLY ON THIS GROUP OF OSSUARIES, demonstrating that the motif is a single conception. (fig. 21)

21. Two panelled doors are shown between three pillars which support a double arch. The upper halves of the pillars are fluted to represent colonnettes. The rosettes, two slim panels, and two framing motifs are as no. 20. (fig. 22)
22. The two panels of a doorway, as no. 21, but the rest of the motif more schematised - simply vertical and horizontal panels with the same two longer vertical panels at the side as nos. 20 and 21. But here the panels are outlined by the T-shaped Ionic door frame. (fig. 23)
23. As above but with a more schematic representation of the central motif - three plain, vertical panels are crowned by a pediment and a central acroterion. (fig. 24)
24. As nos. 20-24 but without the central entry. (fig. 25)
25. Very similar to no. 23, but the three, vertical strips definitely support the pediment here, and door-panels can be seen between them. Only one framing motif, which is marked diagonally, not vertically. (fig. 26)
26. As no. 24. (fig. 27)
27. Very similar to no. 20, but the arch is not adorned with a zig-zag, and the door is more simply panelled. (fig. 28)
28. Almost identical with no. 21. (fig. 29)

29. The same two framing motifs, but five oblong panels enclosing four large, deeply cut arrows replace any attempt at realistic entries. (fig. 30)
30. The nearest analogy is with no. 29. Both have the two framing motifs and the five oblong panels. But here there are no arrows. (fig. 31)
31. As nos. 24 and 26, but the two panels meet up with the lines of the frame - an even more patterned example. (fig. 32)
32. Here the schematic central motif has become more enigmatic - two vertical panels box in three small horizontal ones. (fig. 33)
33. The very schematic form again - most like no. 31. (fig. 34)
34. Identical in motifs with no. 24. (fig. 35)
35. The framing with masonry marked on it links this with the rest of the group. The central motif of divergent arcs is adorned with toothing, 'masonry' and gouged strokes. (fig. 36)
36. A very plain frame and two plain rings without rosettes. The shape of the central motif links this ossuary with no. 35. (fig. 37)

ARCHES

37. Three simple, continuous arches enclose rosettes; Tf4, 2R6c; and one ruled rosette with alternating single and double points. (fig. 38)
38. Three simple arches with double frames enclosing a geometric, lozenge border. (fig. 39)
39. A simple arch, emphasised by a zig-zag frame; 4R6c and roundels. (fig. 40)
40. Rosette forms enclosed by four simple arches; roundels in the spandrels. (fig. 41)
41. Tf4; 2R6c; simple arch with toothed frame. (fig. 42)
42. Tf4; roundels; 2R16r, simple arch. (fig. 43).

See too the continuous arcade on no. 1 (fig. 2)

STONework

43. A continuous representation of coursed masonry. (fig. 44)
44. Once more the effect of stonework in courses is carried right round the ossuary; here it is also found on the lid. Also small and simple rosette forms. Fluted rim at the top; and at the base of the lid. (fig. 45)

45. As no. 44 but more rosettes, and rings in relief at the ends. (fig. 46)
46. Tf4, Tr; 2R6c with points along the perimeter, and not gouged in two planes, as is usual; fluted strip at the top; stonework. (fig. 47)
47. Pf4; 2R6c with double facets; stonework. (fig. 48)
48. Tf4; stonework. (fig. 49)
49. Pf4; 2R19r; egg-and-dart along the top rim; masonry. (fig. 50)
50. Most similar to nos. 44 and 45, but more complex rosette forms. (fig. 51)

TWO-HANDLED GOBLETS (AMPHORAI)

51. Tf4; 2R6c; goblet. This is a cup with long, double handles and a thin neck which widens to a large mouth. The well of the cup is small and the base crude. (fig. 52)
52. Tf4,Tr; roundels; 2R12c within two perimeters, points alternately long and short; goblet. The goblet is similar to that of no. 51, but here we have a lid represented by two diagonal incisions upwards. The well of the cup is properly formed and is gadrooned in a stylised fashion; the foot of the vessel is also properly formed. (fig. 53)

53. A sketch of a gadrooned amphora on an ossuary fragment found in a tomb in the Hinnom Valley and drawn by Macalister. (fig. 54)

54. Slightly askew, but finely done. Very similar to no. 52, but with less stylised gadrooning. Scratched lines outside the gouged ones represent a rounder well to the cup. Its stand is a rather crude triangle. (fig. 55)

55. Tf2; Hf2; Tr; 2R6c; a fine goblet as no. 54, but with rounded lid. (fig. 56)

See too no. 18. (fig. 19)

STYLISTED TREES

56. Tf4; 2R12c; stylised palm. The branches of the palm-tree are formed in highly stylised fashion by deep gouges of the chisel within an upturned arc. The lozenge pattern which covers the trunk resembles the natural scaling of a palm. (fig. 57)

57. Unfinished tothing in the frame; 2R6c; stylised tree. The tree is reduced to vertical lines for the trunk and arcs with compasses for the branches - a pure, geometric form. (fig. 58)

58. A curious, stylised plant or tree - the 'boughs' are shaped like the acanthus cup which is found on the Jerusalemite tomb-facades; the 'trunk' is a line of small strokes; and the 'ground

leaves and roots' are five lanceolate leaves placed diagonally up or down. In addition two pairs of leaves like the ivy crown dotted stalks. (fig. 59)

59. Very similar to no. 58, including the same Tf4, 2R6c and stylised tree. (fig. 60)

60. Together with rosettes, dotted panels and a dotted arc there occurs a stylised tree, probably palm. It is formed by upward diagonal strokes on either side of a vertical line, and by downward strokes at the base to represent roots or ground leaves. There is a possibility that the two panels and the arch are a stylisation of the entry motif. (fig. 61)

61. An ornate ossuary with toothing, rosettes, trefoils, rings in relief which obviously represent metal handles and their clamps, and two tree forms. One is a stylised palm within a toothed frame; the other is a trunk crowned by toothing inside a triangle. (fig. 62)

62. Motif drawn from an ossuary which I have not seen. The zig-zag trunk suggests a palm. Most like no. 57. (fig. 63)

63. Motif drawn from an ossuary which I have not seen. Once more a simple representation using zig-zag lines. Here the branches extend upwards. (fig. 64)

64. The branches are represented by short, diagonal strokes rising from a curving line, and the vertical lines of the panels serve as trunks. Also Pf4, Pc; 2R6c. (fig. 65)
65. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R2or; schematic tree. Similar to no. 63 and also purely geometric. (fig. 66)
66. Pf4,Pc; vertical lines at the centre also serve as trunks to which small arcs are added. (fig. 67)
67. Tf4,Tr; 2R12c; roundels; stylised tree. The roots are represented at the base by short, vertical strokes within a tiny panel; the rest of the form is more foliate than examples above - the top part is represented by patterned leaves, not by ruled lines or compass-arcs. (fig. 68)
68. Tf1; Pf3,Pc; 2R6c with gouging unfinished between the points; at the centre the vertical panel-lines serve as a trunk or stem to which paired, geometric leaves are added at the top as foliage. Similar to, but simpler than, no. 67. (fig. 69)
69. Tf4,T4; 2R6c; central motif like a palm-trunk and with a different distinct base. (fig. 70)
70. Almost the same as no. 69, but with two small fruits added. (fig. 71)
71. Tf1; stonework motif along the top lip; three neat, geometric

olive-boughs or trees; Tr; 2R6c with pointed leaves between the arms; a stepped platform below each rosette with a schematic plant or tree on each side; four fleurs-de-lys on long stalks emerge symmetrically from the olive-boughs. The lid is decorated with freehand palm motifs attractively done - two trees on box-stands from which also emerge palm-sprays, and a central bush. The ossuary attractively combines the formal elements of the body with the sketches on the lid. (fig. 72)

72. Tf4; 2R6c in a continuous or endless pattern; stylised tree. The first instance of this type of stylisation - a spray at the top represents the foliage of the palm, and gouges on the base-line represent its ground-leaves or roots with a small, vertical incision at each side up to the rosette patterns. (fig. 73)

73. As no. 72, but more stylised. The gouges and small incisions at the base-line remain unchanged, but the palm-spray at the top is more schematically produced as chiselled wedges and incisions in a pattern. (fig. 74)

74. As nos. 72 and 73, but with the tree motif transformed - the 'roots' are omitted except for the two vertical incisions, and the spray at the top has become a gouged triangle or wedge, point upwards. (fig. 75)

75. Very similar to no. 74. (fig. 76)

76. Ditto. (fig. 77)

77. Ditto. Nos. 75 and 76 have the roots represented by the wedge-gouges as well as the incisions at the side; no. 77 has only the incisions, like no. 74; nos. 74-77 all have the wedge or lozenge at the top instead of the spray. (fig. 78)

78. As nos. 74 and 77, but the wedge at the top is only outlined, not gouged out. (fig. 79)

79. A handle is added to the wedge, and it is reinterpreted as a dagger. (fig. 80).

80. Another stylisation of this motif - wedges and incisions at the base, but leaves within an arc at the top instead of the spray or the wedge or the dagger. This representation of boughs and foliage is similar to no. 56. (fig. 81)

81. A further development of nos. 56 and 80 - the trunk is represented by three strips, of which the central one is scaled, and the others are toothed; the branches and the roots are represented by arcs enclosing trefoils, but with the central gouge in the bottom (downturned) arc given distinctive treatment. (fig. 82)

82. very similar to no. 81; the roots are represented by four wedges, compressed at the base. (fig. 83)

83. Here the conception of a tree seems lost in a completely symmetric and stylised pattern at the centre. (fig. 84)

84. The gouges at the top and base of the central motif may indicate another stylisation of the tree motif, done mainly by overlapping arcs. (fig. 85)

BOUGHS, SPRAYS AND PLANTS

85. Tf3,Pf1; 2R6c; floral motif at the centre, sliced through so that one sees the inner parts. Symmetric, but freehand. (fig. 86)

86. Tf2,Hf2,Tr; 2R6c; geometrised bough rendered by compass arcs and gouges. (fig. 87)

87. A freehand plant - roots, stem, tendrils, leaves, shown in a conceptual manner. (fig. 88)

88. Within a design of overlapping circles are three palm-boughs and a garland; a pleasing design. (fig. 89)

89. Pf4,Pc; 2R6c with points added at the perimeter; at each end within narrow panels are olive-strips; at the centre is a geometric plant with leaves at the base and crown. The lid is panelled. (fig. 90)

90. As no. 89, but with additions - small plants in the spandrels above the rosettes, and more, paired leaves or points in the two olive-strips. (fig. 91)

91. Tf4;Hr;3R6c with a whirl-rosette form added round the outer ones; between the three rosettes are sprays like that of no. 72 with matching sprays for the root system; the upper spray on the right has a wedge at the centre. (fig. 92)

92. Hf4; 2R8r; at the bottom angles small trefoils with tiny pointed leaves on stalks between them; elaborate acanthus cup at the centre. This is the only acanthus cup to be found on an ossuary, and consists of five fronds; two pomegranates emerge at the top between the centre frond and the two side ones; otherwise a pattern of triangular eyelets is formed between the fronds. (fig. 93)

93. Intricately worked with a lozenge frame. The two customary circles enclose, not rosettes, but acanthus-sprays with eyelets at their bases forming a circle, and an inner circle of paired tendrils; between these attractive motifs is a finely carved, geometric anthemion. On the lid Tf4;Hc;Tr;3R6c. (fig. 94)

94. Drawing of an ossuary. Tf4; roundels; Tr; 2R9c with doubled points; olive strip around the rosettes in an outer ring; olive strip at the centre. (fig. 95)

95. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c; olive strip. (fig. 96)

96. Tf4,Tr; 2R8r18w very attractive; small olive strip; roundels. (fig. 97)

97. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c; olive strip - leaves alternately carved out or simply outlined. (fig. 98)
98. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c; roundels, olive strip, very similar to no. 97. (fig. 99)
99. Tf4; Pr; 2R8r; roundels; olive strip with the root represented as a triangle. (fig. 100)
100. Tf4,Tr; 2R6c; olive strip with the root represented by a pair of diagonal cuts. (fig. 101)
101. Hf4; Tr; 2R6c; olive strip with gaps left between the leaves. (fig. 102)
102. Tf3,Pf1,Pc; two panels with a complex motif of arcs, foliate sprays and tothing; olive strip. (fig. 103)
103. Tr; 2R12w; olive strip round three sides of the face; trefoil in the centre. (fig. 104)
104. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c; central motif is a stalk crowned by a large, heart-shaped leaf of ivy, and with nine symmetric pairs of tendrils growing from it. (fig. 105)
105. Olive strip all round the face; three complex rosettes - the one at the centre ruled with 16 points, the side ones made up of three concentric ruled and whirl arrangements; between the rosettes are roots, stem and creepers and leaves of the ivy, represented by

two stylised arrangements with dotted lines, pyramidal root system, and small, pointed leaves. (fig. 106)

106. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c; central ivy motif very similar to no. 104. (fig. 107)

107. Tf4,Tc,Tr;2R12c; roundels; a delicately worked central ivy motif - stalk, tendrils, leaves. (fig. 108)

108. Tf3; Pfl,Pc; 2R6c; crude ivy motif at the centre with paired and crowning leaves on long stalks; the root system is represented as a triangle, like no.s 105 and 106. (fig. 109)

109. Exactly the same motifs as no. 108. (fig. 110)

110. Very similar to nos. 108 and 109, but with an inner pair of tiny leaves on dotted stalks. (fig. 111)

111. Tf3,Tr; Pfl; 2R6c; an irregular ivy motif with pairs of leaves from base to crown on stalks of varied length. (fig. 112)

112. Tf3; Pfl,Pr,Pc; 2R6c; here the ivy motif has a downward 'root system', as well as the same triple leaf arrangement at its crown. (fig. 113)

113. Greek egg motif along the top rim; Tf3,Tc,Tr; 2R6c with doubled points; a small plant in the centre-panel on the baseline - three lanceolate leaves and two ivy leaves on stalks between them, a neat and attractive motif. (fig. 114)

114. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c with tendrils added between the points.
(fig. 115)

115. Tf4; continuous system of three-point rosettes with roundels between the points; paired, geometric, trefoils emerge between the three rosette-systems together with pairs of tendrils.
(fig. 116)

116. Pf4,Pc in an unusual system of four panels; 4Rc in pairs of six and three points; from the upper pair emerge small, irregular trefoils, done freehand. (fig. 117)

117. Tf1,Pf3,Pc; 2R12c. In the eight angles are small, heart-shaped leaves, emerging from brackets. (fig. 118)

118. Sketch of a freehand drawing of a pomegranate plant from the lid of an ossuary. (fig. 119)

Note; plant motifs were also noted on some of the ossuaries adorned with columns; see nos. 1 (pomegranates, fleurs-de-lys, olive), 8 (palm, ivy, trefoils), 12 (olive), 14, 17, 18 (heart-shaped leaves, palms, trefoils), 19 (leaves; large, freehand palm-boughs etc.), 20 (fleurs-de-lys, ivy).

GEOMETRIC MOTIFS ONLY

119. Hf4; 2R16r; two geometric anthemia. (fig. 120)

120. An attractive, all-over lozenge-pattern. (fig. 121)

121. An all-over pattern of squares, which are alternately in relief or set back. (fig. 122)

122. Tf4,Tr; 2R6c; pattern of squares. (fig. 123)

123. Three point rosette within a 'handle'; the 'rings' connecting the handle to the face of the ossuary are indicated. A pylon-like creation on each side. Roundels. (fig. 124)

124. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R14c with roundels at the centre; narrow lozenge motif at the centre with some sort of fruit at the top. One end is adorned with diagonal crosses in toothed panels. (fig. 125)

125. Simple frames form six panels adorned by four plain roundels and two rosettes in outline. (fig. 126)

126. Tf not finished; Tr not finished; two double rosettes done with the rule and in whirl-rosette form, again unfinished; attractive, geometric motif at the centre. (fig. 127)

127. Tf4,Tc and vertical arms combine with added horizontal arms to form an upright cross. (fig. 128)

128. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 1R16r; roundels; the two side-panels are filled by a pattern of small squares on the diagonal. Both the squares and the rosette points are alternately carved out and left solid. (fig. 129)

129. Pf4,Pc; 2R8r cut in flat relief within a circle which is set back from the face; diagonal cross in the centre-panel, surmounted by triangles. Most of the design is repeated on the lid. (fig. 130)
130. Tf4; 2R6c within two square panels which are framed by a square border of overlapping arcs; central motif of roundels within lozenges, to which half rosettes and carved out arcs are added at the sides. (fig. 131)
131. Olive border almost the same as that of no. 1 - the same device for turning the angles, and tendrils where the strips meet. This frames three square panels with 2R6c and a square, compass rosette of eight points. (fig. 132)
132. Pf4; 1R6c in an interlocking, endless pattern; panels with T-ends on either side. (fig. 133)
133. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c; roundels at the angles; central motif of diagonal squares, as no. 128. (fig. 134)
134. Tf4 doubled on three sides to enclose strips of roundels; Tc; Tr also doubled to enclose circles of roundels; 2R6c; roundels at the angles. This ossuary displays the roundel very attractively. (fig. 135)
135. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c with roundels between the points and at the angles of the frame; centre-panel of four rows of roundels. (fig. 136)

136. Tf4; 2R6c made into a continuous, interlocking pattern with added points; roundels fill every available space. (fig. 137)
137. Tf4, Tc, Tr; 2R6c; roundels in the centre strip and in every available space. (fig. 138)
138. Tf4 doubled to enclose roundels, as no. 134; rest of face undecorated. (fig. 139)
139. Tf4, Tc, Tr; 2R6c; centre strip of roundels. (fig. 140)
140. Tf4, Tr; 2R6c with points added at the perimeter; roundels in the angles; centre motif is like the rungs of a ladder with heart-shaped forms between them. (fig. 141)
141. Tf3; Hf1; 2R6c with three points carved out; two large roundels; a complex form between the points of the rosette is only just begun. (fig. 142)
142. Tf4, Tc, Tr; 2R2lc with roundel at centre; roundels in the spandrels. (fig. 143)
143. Tf4, Tc, Tr; 2R12c; roundels; lozenge motif at the centre. (fig. 144)
144. Tf4, Tc; 2R6c with simple roundels; centre motif of half and quarter arcs with the same simplified roundels. (fig. 145)
145. Tf4, Tc, Tr; 2R6c; the same simplified roundels as no. 144. (fig. 146)

146. Tf4; 2R6c with points added at the perimeter; panel of diagonal squares at the centre. (fig. 147)
147. Tf1,Tr; Hf3;2R6c. (fig. 148)
148. Tf2,Tc; Pf2; 2r22w. (fig. 149)
149. Tf4,Tr; Hc; 2R6c. (fig. 150)
150. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R18c. (fig. 151)
151. Bead-and-reel strips create three panels; Tr; 1R6c with points at the perimeter; 2R12r. (fig. 152)
152. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R21c. (fig. 153)
153. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c. (fig. 154)
154. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R12c. (fig. 155)
155. Tf4,Tc,Tr; the tothing becomes a larger motif at the centre; 2R6c. (fig. 156)
156. Tf4,Tc as no. 155; Tr; 2R12c. (fig. 157)
157. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c. (fig. 158)
158. Tf3; 2R6c. (fig. 159)
159. Tf4,Tc; 2R6c with roundels at the centre. (fig. 160)
160. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c. (fig. 161)

161. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c. (fig. 162)
162. Tf4,Tc; 2R6c. (fig. 163)
163. Tf3; Pf1,Pc; 2R6c. (fig. 164)
164. Tr; Pf4,Pc; 2R6c. (fig. 165)
165. Tf2,Tc; 2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 166)
166. Pf4,Pc; 2R8c. (fig. 167)
167. Two complex rosettes based on a 12 point compass form; a geometric palm-spray between the points was just begun. (fig. 168)
168. Pf4,Pc,Pr; 2R6c. (fig. 169)
169. Pf4,Pc; 2R6c. (fig. 170)
170. Pf4;2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 171)
171. Pf4; 2R6c. (fig. 172)
172. Pf4,Pc,Pr; 2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 173)
173. Pf2,Pc; 2R3c. (fig. 174)
174. Pf4; Tr; 2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 175)
175. Pf4; Tr; 2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 176)
176. 2R6c but not carved out. (fig. 177)

177. Undecorated; notice the chip-marks of the carving. (fig.178)

178. As no. 177, but chisel-marks more smooth. (fig. 179)

179. As nos. 176 and 177 but smoother. (fig, 180)

GROUP WITHOUT OPTIC EFFECTS AND WITH SPECIAL MOTIFS

180. Tf4,Tc horizontal, Tr; vertical strip of arcs at each end; line of seven stylised trees - the trunk is a single vertical incision, the branches are diminishing, downcurved arcs, the roots are a very small arc at the bottom. Compare nos. 62 and 63. Further rows of arcs are set above the trees and in the lower panel, where there are 4R6c. (fig. 181)

181. Very similar to no. 180, but strips of quarter arcs and diagonal crosses form four panels for the rosettes. (fig. 182)

182. Tf4,Tr; overlapped half arcs form an inner frame on three sides; 3R6c; roundels of varied size form rows along the bottom and top. (fig. 183)

183. Lines forming a pattern of large rectangles with tothing. (fig. 184)

184. A row of large diagonal crosses crowned by a row of half arcs. (fig. 185)

185. 2R6c within a frame; the great fondness of the craftsmen who worked on this type of ossuary for curved and straight lines of zig-zags can be seen here in the frame, in the spandrels, in the arcs, at the centre, around the rosettes, on and between the points of the rosettes. The centre motif is the very stylised tree which also occurred on nos. 81, 82 and 83. (fig. 186)
186. Very similar to no. 185, but less complicated. (fig. 187)
187. Very similar to nos. 185 and 186. (fig. 188)
188. Very similar to nos. 185, 186 and 187; the roots and branches of the 'tree' are represented both by arcs and by diagonals. (fig. 189)
189. Ditto. (fig. 190)
190. Here the tree is represented by diagonals for the root and branch systems; the usual toothed frame and rosettes, as 185-189. (fig. 191)
191. Overlapped arcs form borders at the top and bottom; 3R6c with roundels in the spandrels of the panels; panel of diagonal crosses. (fig. 192)
192. Frame of strips of continuous diagonal crosses, enclosing 3R6c; usual pendant for the zig-zag, as the rest of this group. (fig. 193)

193. Very similar to no. 192. (fig. 194)
194. Tf4; Tr; 4R6c of various sizes; roundels fill all available space. (fig. 195)
195. Tf3; lower border of half arcs; 3R6c in three panels with diagonal zig-zag lines at the spandrels; two small rosettes are added in the centre panel. (fig. 196)
196. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 2R6c. (fig. 197)
197. Tf4,Tc,Tr; 4R6c. The whole is repeated on the lid. I include this sarcophagus here, since it is the only one I have seen decorated in this non-optic style, and with such banal ornament even as far as the ossuary repertoire is concerned. (fig. 198)

Remarks on the interpretation of the motifs in this catalogue are found in I,vi and I,vii of this work.

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ON THE FORM, USE AND DATE OF THE OSSUARIES

The first scholar to mention ossuaries in a publication was the American Robinson (Neuere biblische Forschungen, 1857, pp.178, 235) who found two in the so-called Tomb of Joseph and Nikodemus at Jerusalem. One of these was unusually long - four feet - but the other was smaller. The first - and inevitably mistaken - theory as to their purpose was put forward by de Saulcy. He discovered disturbed ossuaries in his clearance of the Tomb of Helena, which had long since been broken into by tomb-robbers. These, he said, were too small to have held human remains, but must have housed the precious trinkets of the deceased:

"Ces caisses n'ont certainement pas contenu des débris humains, elles sont trop petites pour cela. Que contenaient-elles donc? Je n'hésite pas à répondre: Les objets de prix, quels qu'ils fussent, qui étaient enfermés avec les corps dans ce sépulchre de famille .. "

But soon after this about twenty ossuaries were found by the German architect Conrad Schick in an undisturbed tomb North West of the Old City of Jerusalem. The matter of their purpose was settled; for these contained the bones of adults, arranged with care. Moreover several contained small, glass vessels. Half were decorated; half were not. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that

this decoration, gouged out with the chisel and consisting largely of simple, geometric motifs, was derived from the techniques of chip-carving in wood. He guessed at wooden forerunners to the limestone examples found, forerunners which had been chip-carved and painted. (C. Schick, "Illustrierten Zeitung", 1866, no.1224, pp.408f; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RA, Vol. XXV, 1873, pp.398-414). Next year (1874) the Palestine Exploration Fund reported the finding of three 'sepulchral chests' (one is now British Museum no. 126392) of white or pale red limestone, elegantly decorated and containing the bones and skulls of adults ("Our Work in Palestine", PEF, 1874, p.156 and my fig. 2). By 1881 Sch^ultz was able to mention ossuaries found in the Jewish catacombs of Alexandria (only a small number), an ossuary from Khirbet Khazneh near Nazareth in Galilee, and one from Lydda. This was a clear demonstration of widespread use of these bone-chests, but strictly confined to the Jews. One result of this observation is, of course, that any tomb in which ossuaries or fragments of ossuaries are found can confidently be said to have been Jewish at some time, a time which can now be assigned narrow limits. (Sch^ultz, ZDPV, 1881, pp.9-17.)

Perhaps the discoveries of Clermont-Ganneau were the most interesting at this early stage. Like de Saulcy he was a man inclined to express bold opinions, but unlike de Saulcy he was

usually right. In 1899 he published his researches around Jerusalem during the two years 1873 and 1874 ("Archaeological Researches in Palestine ..", Vol. 1; see pp.381-412). One of the finds was a chamber packed high with over thirty ossuaries, and without space for any other burial provision. He concluded that this was an ossuary storage-chamber for a family which practised the initial burial in a nearby tomb. He has also pointed out at various times that ossuaries were sometimes used to house the bones of more than one person. This is convincingly demonstrated by the inscription of the sons of Nikanor (infra I, iii, 13 inscription 60) and by the fact that he found two skulls together with other bones in an ossuary from Wadi Yasul, off the Kedron Valley at Jerusalem (op. cit. P.430).

In the first three decades of the present century several more storage chambers were found, but these were part of larger, rock-cut tombs. One tomb cleared by Mayer in the Kedron Valley consisted of a vestibule with a chamber at either side. The two chambers were provided with benches, which were used in the one case as the initial resting-place of the corpse - the groups of bones were still in situ on the benches - and in the other case for storing ossuaries - nineteen were "arranged on the benches one above the other with the greatest possible economy of space" (Mayer, Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology, 1924, pp.56-60). In the year before this Orfali had found a perfectly

preserved skeleton on a bench in one of the chambers of a tomb on the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem (RB, 1923, pp.253-261). He also found eleven ossuaries in the tomb on the floor and benches of its chambers. The evidence of the tomb cleared by Mayer was exactly repeated in a tomb-clearance on Mount Scopus at Jerusalem by Sukenik (Proceedings of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, 1925, pp.43-47) - the upper chamber was for the initial burial (in this case the bones were in kokhim), the lower held twelve ossuaries. Some of the ossuaries were "remarkable for their red or brown colour, still quite fresh". Again the same form was found in 1928 (Sukenik, JPOS, 1928, pp.115f.) but with an important addition. Here there was a niche cut into the rock-wall of the upper chamber, which held the bones of three bodies on its benches. Sukenik confidently asserted that this niche was also for bones, basing his judgement on the recently cleared tomb of the sons of Nikanor in the grounds of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, where he had found the same type of niche, but sealed with a stone slab and containing bones.

These tomb clearances gave a clear picture of the purpose of the ossuaries. In 1931 both Schütz (Organ d. Gesellschaft z. Forderung d. Wiss. d. Judentums, 1931, pp.286-292) and Sukenik ("Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt", 1931) stated that the ossuaries indicated a practice of double burial - benches or kokhim were used for the initial burial, and then the bones were

transferred after the flesh had fallen from them to ossuaries, which were often stored in a separate chamber. Maisler (Mayer) supported this with two suggestions (ILN, Oct. 29, 1938, pp.778-779) to explain the custom - lack of space in the family tomb, and fear that the bones would be scattered and their identity lost.

Sukenik, Mayer and Rahmani have all taken this practice to be a confirmation of certain rabbinic texts of the Talmud:

Moed Katan, I, 5 "First the dead were buried in hollows; after the flesh had rotted the custom was to collect the bones together and inter them in cedar-wood chests; that day the son mourned, but the next he rejoiced that his fathers had rest from judgement".

Semahot, XII, 9 "Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Rabbi Zadok, said: 'Thus said father to me when he died: 'Son, first bury me in the hollow, and finally collect my bones, and put them into an ossuary, but do not collect them with your own hands'".

Rahmani suggests that the purpose of the ossuaries is not simply to make more room in the tomb for the next generation, since this need could be adequately served by the use of pits or a communal chamber for bones. He suggests that the collection of bones into ossuaries was a consequence of the Pharisees' belief in bodily resurrection, a gathering and safe-keeping of the complete skeleton in preparation for this event. The text from Moed Katan quoted above suggests an additional reason - that the collection of the bones gave rest from judgement, being a form of ritual expiation (Atiqot, III, 1961, English series, pp.116-119).

The dates between which the ossuaries were used at Jerusalem are established in Parts III and IV of this thesis. The arguments used are those based on the general cultural conditions of the time, and on the evidence of pottery, glass, coins, inscriptions and the burial-arrangements employed in the tombs. Suffice it to say here that at Jerusalem the ossuaries are constantly associated with the Herodian pottery group, which can be dated from about 40 BC to about AD 70 (possibly AD 135). Arguments for the extension of their use back to 200 BC and on to the late second and the third century of our era are easily refuted.

An awkward fact for those who asserted that the ossuaries confirmed, and were confirmed by, the evidence of Talmudic texts was that Semahot XII and XIII specify burial-chests of cedar-wood and terracotta as well as stone. All the ossuaries, it appeared, were of limestone. But in 1931 Sukenik announced that he had found a terracotta ossuary in a tomb cleared in 1929 to the N.W. of Jerusalem (Tarbitz, Hebrew, Vol. I, 1929-1930, pp.122-124). To this example we may now add some fragments and two complete ossuaries in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM nos. 32.2682, 32.2683), which came from Khirbet Umm Khalka near Ramleh in 1932, and are all of terracotta. In the same tomb which contained this terracotta ossuary Sukenik found three limestone ossuaries and a large number of iron nails. He suggested that these had held

together the wooden panels of ossuaries of cedar-wood, which had since rotted to decomposition in the humid climate of Jerusalem. Wooden ossuaries would also explain the chip-carving technique on the limestone ones, carried over to the soft stone with its similar technical possibilities. In 1935 Baramki too reported a large number of nails found in the chamber and three of the kokhim of a rock-cut tomb with ossuaries at Wa'r Abu es-Safa. Like Sukenik he concluded that this was all that remained from wooden coffins that had rotted (QDAP, IV, pp.168-169).

Another cogent argument speaks for the different purposes of the kokh and the ossuary. In no case is the name of the dead person found inscribed over a kokh, though it was a common practice to inscribe the name of the deceased over Hellenistic loculi. In only two cases that I know of does an inscription occur above a kokh. This is a warning of the sanctity of the burial-tunnel, and does not provide the identity of the bones. Sukenik translates one:

"This kokh was made for the bones of our fathers.

It is two ells long. Not to be opened upon them."

(Tarbitz, VI, 1935-1936, pp.190-196; Hebrew.

Also Spoer, JAOS, 1907, pp.356f; Sukenik, ZDPV, 1932, pp.24f)

This absence of identity supports the other indications that the kokh was a temporary, initial resting-place for the corpse, and

not the permanent possession of any one individual. But with the ossuary it is quite the contrary. I have listed - without exhausting the possibilities - 260 ossuaries in Part I, iii of this thesis upon which the name and usually at least the patronymic also of the dead person were inscribed. The ossuaries were the final and permanent resting-place of the bones.

The Hebrew word 'kokh' occurs in the inscriptions mentioned just above, completely justifying the use of the term here. Not so with the term 'ossuary', which is now lodged so securely in use as to be impossible to displace. In 1934-1935 during systematic explorations of ancient Jewish tombs in the Kedron Valley by the Hebrew University Sukenik cleared a simple, rectangular chamber containing five ossuaries. Scratched twice on the side of one of these - which was otherwise plain - was the word $\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ which parallels the well-known term $\epsilon\kappa\rho\kappa\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. The Talmudic word is glwsqm', which transliterates the Greek $\gamma\lambda\omega\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$, found recently in the Jewish cemetery of the second to fourth centuries of our era at Sheikh Ibriq in Palestine.

In 1931 Sukenik suggested that some ossuaries are obviously not only from the same Jerusalemite workshop, but from the same hand. He gave no examples, but one can hardly doubt that we have them in Part Ii of this thesis:

e.g., the olive border of nos. 1, 11, 131.

the columns and small plant motifs of nos. 8, 13.

the columns of nos. 12, 15.

Many of the ossuaries were painted in red, brown or yellow, but the paint is now dulled and patchy with time, though the patches still show clearly on many of my illustrations (e.g., nos. 9, 65).

Ossuaries are usually distinct not only in size, but in stone and decor, from the sarcophagi. But sometimes one or other of these points does not give such a neat classification. Some ossuaries of hard limestone like that of the sarcophagi, and with the same relief decoration as the sarcophagi are dealt with in Part I,v of this thesis; in contrast no. 197 in my catalogue of ossuary decor was in fact a sarcophagus of soft limestone treated with decoration in one of the ossuary styles. Of the ossuaries catalogued above nos. 103, 119 and 151 are of hard limestone, which preserves better and is much heavier than the soft type so suitable for the chip-carving ossuary technique. The usual length of an ossuary is about two to three feet; the size was designed to take the widest and the longest human bones (skull, thigh-bone). Sarcophagi are designed for a full-length corpse. They are about five feet long at the least, sometimes as long as eight feet.

The dates between which the ossuaries were used are established in Parts III and IV of this work. The arguments used are those based on the general cultural conditions of the time, and on the evidence of pottery, glass, coins, inscriptions and the burial-arrangements employed in the tombs. Suffice it to say here that at Jerusalem the ossuaries are constantly associated with the Herodian pottery group, which can be dated from about 40 BC to about AD 70 (possibly AD 135). Arguments for the extension of their use to 200 BC and on to the late second and the third century of our era are easily refuted.

Part I, Fascicle iii

INTRODUCTION

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OSSUARIES

The aim of this section of the thesis is to make a catalogue of the names - Jewish, Greek and occasionally Roman - which appear on the ossuaries in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek. The aim of the catalogue is to find the number of persons involved, not simply the number of times the name is inscribed. Family trees are attempted wherever possible. I have left aside the problematic Bethphage lids, rejected unconvincing restorations and ignored unintelligible fragments.

The inscriptions are organised in sequence following the original date of publication from 1869 to 1967, and a few unpublished inscriptions are added. Detailed reference is made to the emendations of other scholars where these seem preferable to the earliest readings, and the number of the inscription in the Corpus (henceforth CIJ) of J-B. Frey is always given. In some cases Frey has missed inscriptions given here; this too is indicated.

Inscriptions 1-232 are from Jerusalem and the villages
about it.

Inscriptions 233-239 are from Gezer, Lydda, Kefar Baruch
and Nazareth.

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Inscriptions 240-241 are from the Gallery Book of the
Palestine Archaeological Museum.

Both are from Jerusalem.

The bibliography is of works which have been consulted
and have contributed something useful. In some cases a
fuller bibliography will be found in CIJ; in others my own
is more full.

A typewriter with Hebrew alphabet is not available to me.
I shall use the following system of transliteration:

Aleph	'	Lamedh	l
Beth	b	Mem	m
Gimel	g	Nun	n
Daleth	d	Samekh	s
He	h	Ayin	·
Waw	w	Pe	p
Zayin	z	Tzadhe	tz
Heth	h ·	Qoph	q
Teth	t ·	Resh	r
Yodh	y	Sin	s
Kaph	k	Taw	t

The catalogue of names at the conclusion of the catalogue
of inscriptions will be in three separate parts - Jewish names,

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Greek names, Roman names. This classification does not make reference to the language of the inscription, but to the name itself. In this way it is hoped that the catalogue will in itself contribute to our knowledge of the hellenisation of Palestinian Jewry.

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- B. Lifshitz RB, 1963, pp.264-265. This is the emendation of an inscription published by Sukenik, BASOR, 88, 1942.
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I have been unable to obtain in England the article by Hänsler, "Das Heilige Land", 1913, pp.85-95, so that I have had to rely on Grimme, Klein and Frey for the ossuaries of the family of Qallan.

A CATALOGUE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OSSUARIES

1. Renan, JA, 1868 (Frey 1370)

The first word is uncertain, but it is followed by the name

Y'yr

2. de Saulcy, RA, 1869 (Frey 1377)

Inscribed on a fragment of an ossuary lid found in a kokh in the Tomb of the Judges is the name

Ytzhq

3. Clermont-Ganneau, RA, 1873 (Frey 1366)

On this ossuary the name is inscribed three times

Βερυλχη

and

Βερυλχης

Βηqy

Both nominative and genitive are common on the ossuaries in Greek.

This inscription and the next three are all from the same tomb.

4. ibid. (Frey 1367)

Once occurs

Ἰάειρος

and on the same ossuary

Ἰάειρος Ἰωάννου

The first name is a Greek transliteration of the Jewish name of inscription 1.

5. ibid. (Frey 1368)

On another ossuary from the same tomb

Ἰάσηπος Ἰάσηπος

and Ἰάσηπος Ἰαείρου

This gives us three generations of the same family, all with Jewish names - John, Jair, Joseph.

6. ibid. (Frey 1369)

On an ossuary from the same tomb

Πτολμαῖ

Only Schütz gives the rest of the inscription, which is restored by Milik, DF, p.70 as

(Tl)mh br Y'yr

7. Clermont-Ganneau, RA, 1878. (Frey 1379)

The stamp on p.307, RA shows that this is the probable reading

Yhwsp br Yhwhnn

8. ibid. (Frey 1342)

A stamp, not published elsewhere, of

Yhwhnn

See too Mission no. 39

9. ibid. (not in CLJ)

Another stamp not given elsewhere, though the inscription is
his Mission no. 40

Yhwsp

10. Schultze, ZDPV, 1881 (Frey 1302)

ΠΩΛΛΑ

11. ibid. (Frey 1303)

This appears to be

Ζηναροῦτος

12. Clermont-Ganneau, AR, nos. 1 and 2 and RA, 1883. (Frey 1317)

Slmtzywn bt Sm'wn hkhn

and

Slmtzywn

13. AR nos. 3 and 4 (Frey 1308)

On the lid is

Yhwdh hspr

and on the body of the ossuary is

Yhwdh br 'l' zr hspr

The recording of the dead person's status within the community is quite rare on the ossuaries. A list of the instances is given at the end of this section.

14. AR no. 5 (Frey 1318)

Sm'wn br Ysw'

15. AR no. 6 (Frey 1304)

'l' zr br Nty

Clermont-Ganneau notes that Nattai is a hypocoristicon for various well-known Jewish names.

16. AR no. 7 (Frey 1311)

Mrt' bt Ptzh(y)

17. AR no. 8 (Frey 1305)

On a lid is

Yhwdh

18. AR no. 9 (Frey 1314)

On the underside of the same lid as that on which inscription 17 is inscribed is

Slwm 'st Yhwdh

19. AR nos. 10 and 10a (Frey 1313)

On the ossuary to which the lid of inscriptions 17 and 18 belong is

Slwm

and

Slwm 'st Yhwdh

Inscriptions 17 - 19 refer to the same couple.

20. AR no. 11 (Frey 1306)

On the side of an ossuary

Yhwdh

21. AR no. 12 (Frey 1310)

The well-known Talmudic name

Pd'

Of AR pp.381-412 nos. 13-21 only nos. 15, 16 and 19 seem to me to be capable of being read. The rest will not be included here. For nos. 13, 14, 20, 21 see CIJ 1315-16, 1322-23.

22. AR no. 15 (Frey 1312)

Qrqs

For the vocalisation of this see inscription 49 in Greek.

23. AR no. 16 (Frey 1309)

L'zr

24. AR no. 19 (Frey 1307)

Yhwdh bn Hnnyh

25. AR no. 22 (Frey 1327)

The Greek transcription of Yeshua is inscribed twice.

The epsilon is more unusual than eta.

Ἰεσοῦς

AR no. 23 does not seem readable to me.

26. AR no. 24 (Frey 1329)

Μεσχας

27. AR nos. 25 and 26 (Frey 1328)

On the same ossuary twice

Μαριανδος

28. AR no. 27 (Frey 1326)

Kθpθας

29. AR no. 28 (Frey 1324)

‘Hδῆα

The form ‘Hδεῖα occurs CIG 2058

Inscriptions 12-29 are from the same storage vault.

RA nos. 29 and 30 cannot be read (CIJ 1319)

30. AR no. 31 (Frey 1257)

Yhw...n br ...

Either Yhwhnn or Yhwntn.

RA nos. 31-43 are of sundry ossuaries. The inscriptions which I have confidence in reading are my nos. 30-35.

31. AR no. 35 (Frey 1348)

Yhwhnn br Yhwsp

32. AR no. 37 (Frey 1345)

Ysw ‘

33. AR nos. 39 and 40 (Frey 1343)

At one end of the decorated face of an ossuary

Yhwsp
.

and at the other end

Σαλώμη

Presumably this is husband and wife. I am assuming that this Joseph is the one of inscription 31.

34. AR no. 43 (Frey 1214)

Μαρτα

35. AR no. 41 (Frey 1344)

Yhwsp
.

Mnhm
.

and

Μανάνημ

Ἰδσ(ηφ)

36. AR pp.445-447 (Frey 1346)

An inscription in unusually fine, deep-cut letters, set within a cartouche.

Slwm

My inscriptions 37-39 are ossuaries of uncertain origin (AR nos. 44-47).

37. AR no. 44 (Frey 1383)

Ἐυτραπέλου

38. AR no. 45 (Frey 1382)

Ἀτιγόνα

A letter is mistakenly omitted from the Greek name

Ἀντιγόνα

39. AR nos. 46 and 47 (Frey 1380)

The Jewish name

י'ל'ש

is inscribed - once clearly and once badly worn.

40. AR, pp.417-419 and Mission p.113 (Frey 1390)

A stray find from the Mount of Olives.

מריה הגירט הדולקט

Maria is one of several proselytes mentioned on the ossuaries.

Milik, DF, p.95 translates הדולקט as an ethnic term signifying 'of Doliche'

See also inscription 62 'הבסניט' and inscription 226 'קרניט'.

41. Clermont-Ganneau, Mission, 1885, nos. 26 and 27 (Frey 1365)

The following inscription occurs twice

ישו' בר (or בן) מתי

Euting, EM, p.683, prefers נתי

42. *ibid.* no. 28 (Frey 1277)

Τρύφωνας πρεσβυτέρου

43. *Ibid.* no. 29 (Frey 1273)

Βερουταρίου, καὶ Νικάνδρου

The Roman name Verutarius with a Greek name Nikander.

44. *ibid.* no. 30 (Frey 1276)

Ματταθίου

45. *ibid.* no. 31, 31 bis (Frey 1275)

Μαθίου τοῦ Κόστου

and again

Μα(θίου) or Μα(θίας)

Typically on the ossuaries the Jewish form terminating in '-h' is transcribed into a Greek form terminating in '-as'. The article indicating 'son of' is used or omitted indifferently.

46. *ibid.* no. 33 (Frey 1274)

Βερουταρίου νεωτέρως

47. Euting, EM 1885 (Frey 1254)

Sm'wn

48. ibid. (Frey 1371)

'gt'

49. Clermont-Ganneau, CR, 1891 (Frey 1211)

('Iw)σηπου πενθεροϋ . ρόσου

50. ibid. (Frey 1212)

Κρόκος

51. Lagrange, RB, 1893 (Frey 1263)

Inscribed twice with different scripts

Mrth

52. Vincent, RB, 1900 (Frey 1248)

Yhwhnn br Tzby'

53. ibid. (Frey 1249)

See too Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, I, pp.186-187.

It seems to me that none of the readings offered so far is correct. I read the first letter as mem, the fourth as a rather careless he, the sixth as samekh. For a very similar mem see inscription 66.

Mryh Ysh

54. *ibid.* (Frey 1252)

Πρωτᾶς

55. *ibid.* (Frey 1250)

Inscribed twice is the name

Πάπας

56. *ibid.* (Frey 1251)

Ἑρωταρίου

The alpha is broken off at the end of the first line of the inscription.

Hornstein gives the same readings.

57. Vincent, RB, 1902. (Frey 1283)

Ἰουδα Ἰουδου Βεθηλετον

and

Ἰωσῆς Ἰουδου Φαίδρου

Ἰουδα is a direct transcription of Yhwdh without a Greek termination.

The ethnic means 'of Bethel'.

58. *ibid.* (Frey 1284)

and Μαρία Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνή ἀπο Καποδης

Μαρία γυνή Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ Καποδης

59. *ibid.* pp.276-277 (Frey 1190)

Yhwsp G.b.

60. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEQ*, 1903 and *RAO*, V, pp.334-340 (Frey 1256)

This unusual inscription has provoked a good deal of notice.

Clermont-Ganneau reads

ὅστᾱ τῶν τοῦ Νεικάνορος Ἀλεξανδρέως

ποιήσαντος τὰς θύρας. Nqnr lks

However Macalister, *PEQ*, 1903, p.131 rejects ὅστᾱ τῶν
in favour of

ὅστατῶν

Sukenik, while accepting Macalister's suggestion takes it for
a misrendering of

ὀστάτον

The suggested emendation is taken to mean 'ossuary', but in fact
neither ὀστατῶν nor ὀστάτον is found elsewhere, either in inscriptions or
literature, whereas the formula τῶν τοῦ meaning 'of the family (kin, sons)
of' is known (refs. Clermont-Ganneau). Sukenik himself has since shown
that the word ὀστοφάγος (of the same coinage as σαρκοφάγος) is the term
found on the ossuaries. The Talmudic word is also different, being a

transliteration of the Greek γλωσσόχομον (box, casket). The same term is found at Beth Shearim.

Another issue is the significance of the phrase Nqnr 'lqs', interpreted by Clermont-Ganneau as a repetition in Jewish script of the phrase 'Nikanor the Alexandrian' in Greek. But in fact the ethnic is 'lqsn̄dry (Suknik, PEQ, 1937, p.128, note 3) and an inscription published in 1937 (my no. 154) shows that 'lksh and 'lqs' are both transcriptions of the Greek name Alexas, hypercoristicon of Alexander. It seems certain now that the phrase Nqnr 'lqs' consists of the two names Nikanor and Alexas. This in turn supports the reading 'bones of the sons of ..' which Clermont-Ganneau initially suggested.

The third point of dispute is the meaning of the phrase 'who made the doors' (the aorist participle in Greek) or 'who had the doors made'. It is astonishing to find that Frey still supposes this to refer to the doors of the tomb, which considering the size and arrangements of the funereal dispositions must have been quite unremarkable. Even the stone doors of the most wealthy tomb in Jerusalem - that of Queen Helena - are unworthy of such mention. In fact tomb decor concentrated on the entablature, not on the doors. There is no doubt in my mind that this phrase 'the doors' - without any further need of identification - refers to the costly and magnificent doors presented by one 'Nikanor the Alexandrian' to the Jewish Temple. More of this elsewhere.

In full the inscription should be translated

"The bones of the sons of Nikanor the Alexandrian,
who had the (Temple) doors made

Nikanor

Alexas "

It is not surprising that the sons should wish to be identified with the pious benevolence of their father. Nor is it surprising in the light of the other ossuary inscriptions that one of the sons should bear the same name as his father.

61. Savignac, RB, 1904; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO, VI, p.211 (Frey 1247)

'l'zr w'stw

62. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, II, 1906 (Frey 1372)

'myh hbsnyt

and twice

'Αμεία Σκυθοπολιτίσσα

An important inscription for two reasons. First, the fact that the Greek Σκυθοπολιτίσσα (of Skythopolis) is found in the Jewish script as bsnyt (of Bsn) is an interesting indication that the native inhabitants of re-founded towns continued to use the older (native) name of the town in their own language. In fact the native root still survives in the modern 'Beisan'. Second, there is no doubt whatever here that hbsnyt (and hbsny in inscriptions 63 and 64) is an ethnic term; this confirms the interpretations of inscriptions 40 and 226.

63. *ibid.* (Frey 1373)

Ḥnyn ḥbsny
.

and

Ἀνὶν Σκυθοπολεῖτης

Later on the same ossuary was added

.... br ḥnyn ḥnyh ḥbh qbr bryh

64. *ibid.* (Frey 1374)

Παπίας Ῥρῡς ḥbsny
.

and

Παπίας καὶ Σαλώμη Σκυθοπολεῖται

65. Vincent, RB, 1907 (Frey 1255)

On an ossuary from ʿer-Ram is

Yḥwdh bn Twḏws
.

and

Yḥwdh br Twḏws
.

The last name must be a transcription of the Greek 'Theudas' or some other hypocoristicon of Theodoros. Compare the fact that 'Theumnas' occurs in inscription 133 (hypocoristicon of Θεόμνεστος)

66. *ibid.* (Frey 1192)

On an ossuary from the Mount of Olives, at opposite ends of the same face are

Mr̥ym

and

Yḥwhnn
.

Husband and wife were re-buried in one ossuary.

67. Spoer, JPOS, 1907 (Frey 1333)

Yhwdh

68. *ibid.* (Frey 1341)

Map'atn Mrym 'tt Yhgyh

Lidzbarski's suggestion that Yhgyh is a careless spelling of Yhzgyh seems sensible.

69. *ibid.* (Frey 1338)

'Eλισάβη 'lysb' 'tt Trpwn

The vocalisation of Trpwn is clear from inscription 72.

70. *ibid.* (Frey 1337)

The second name in Jewish script is given by Spoer as Lwy, but this is corrected by Grimme to 'l'zr (OL, 1912). He notes that the aleph is rather small and that zayin and resh are in ligature. Frey does not seem to have noticed this.

'Eλιεζρος Ελεαζάρου

and

'l'zr bn 'l'zr

71. *ibid.* (Frey 1340)

Λευεζ Lwy

72. *ibid.* (Frey 1331)

On the lid occurs

Τρδφων

and once on the lid and twice on the sides occurs

Τρρwn

This is from the same tomb as inscription 69.

73. *ibid.* (Frey 1335)

Yhwhnn br

74. *ibid.* (Frey 1261)

The same name is written twice

Mrth

Spoer's reading is disputed by Lidzbarski, PEQ, 1913, pp.84-85, but only from the published photograph. Spoer's reading is reiterated from a squeeze by Gray, PEQ, 1914, pp.40-42 and again by Spoer, *ibid.* pp.200-201.

75. Grimme, OL, 1912 (Frey 1352)

Mrym Yw'zr Sm'wn bny Yhzq bn Qlwn mbny Ysb'b

and on the lid of the same ossuary

Mrym wyhw'zr wsm'wn bny

76. *ibid.* (Frey 1351)

Originally only

Yw'zr

but later (presumably in order to avoid confusion with the same name in inscription 75) was added

Yhw'zr br Sm'wn bn Qlwn

and on the lid

Yhw'zr br Sm'wn br Qlwn

77. *ibid.* (Frey 1354)

On the lid of an ossuary

Sm'wn br Yhw'zr br Qlwn

78. *ibid.* (Frey 1350)

On another lid

Yhwsp br Sm'wn

and

Ἰωσηπος Καλλων

I take this to mean Joseph and Qallon were re-buried in this ossuary. Contrast the genitive ending in inscription 80 (Καλλωνος) where a different Joseph is meant.

The next two inscriptions are not given by Grimme; I have them from Klein, since I was unable to obtain Hänsler's article.

79. Hänsler, HL, 1913; Klein, Corpus, 1920 (Frey 1353)

Slmtzywn brt Gml'

and

Slmtzywn 'ntt Yhw 'zr br Qlwn brt Gml'

80. Hänsler ibid.; Klein ibid. (Frey 1355)

On the same ossuary occur the following

Σίμωνος

'Ιώσηπος Κ(ἀ)λλωνος Σίμωνος Κάλλωνος

'Ιώσηπος Κάλλωνος

My interpretation of this inscription and of 78 assumes that the Greek endings are correctly used. The inscriptions above I translate

"Of the line of Simon"

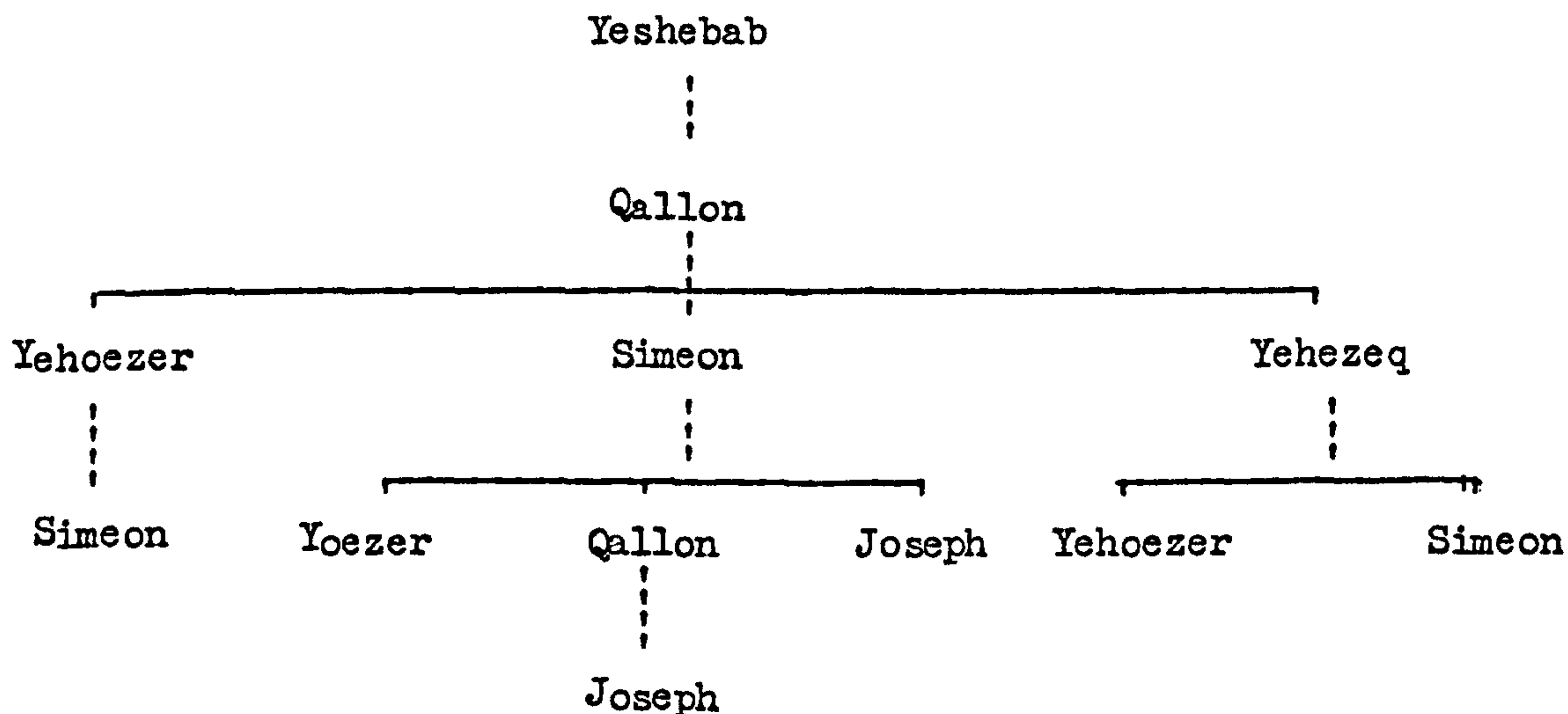
"Joseph son of Qallon son of Simon son of Qallon"

"Joseph son of Qallon"

The need for the addition 'son of Qallon' after 'Simon' is to be explained by the number of members of the family with whom this Simon might be confused, since they have the same name. I am assuming throughout that the Greek name Simon is simply a useful rendition in Greek of the Jewish name Simeon; all of the other names in the family over four generations are Jewish.

Inscriptions 75-80 enable the formulation of a family tree on the male side as follows:

1. We are dealing with the priestly family of Qallon of the line of Yeshebab.
2. The sons of Qallon are Yehoezer, Simeon and Yehezeq. Of these Yehezeq married Mirian and Yehoezer married Shelamtziyon daughter of Gamala.
3. Yehoezer has a son named Simeon.
4. Yehezeq has a daughter Miriam and two sons Yoezer and Simeon.
5. Simeon has a son Qallon, and two more sons Yoezer and Joseph.
6. Qallon son of Simeon (son of Qallon) has a son Joseph.



81. Dussaud, Musée, 1912 (Frey 1386)

Yw'zr

82. Vincent, RB, 1913 (Frey 1172)

Σαλώμη 'Ιακείμου

The second name is a transcription of Ykym, which occurs in inscription 194.

83. Abel, RB, 1913 (Frey 1221)

Pynhs wy⁶gybyh khnh
..

Another priest was mentioned in inscription 15.

84. ibid. (Frey 1216)

’l⁶zr

85. ibid. (Frey 1219)

(Mr)t[’]

Part of the resh is still preserved.

86. ibid. (Frey 1223)

Slmtzywn

87. ibid. (Frey 1218)

Rb Hn[’]
.

This is the only occurrence of 'rabbi'. The name is found in the Talmud.

88. ibid. (Frey 1228)

Βιναπιῖν Σουδων

The second word is a transcription of the Jewish name Sm wn.

Contrast this with inscription 80. With 'Somaon' compare 'Sumeon' of Josephus Loeb Ant. IV, 141.

89. *ibid.* (Frey 1232)

ναδυθΙ

This is an inversion of 'Ιουδάν written from right to left as though it were a Semitic script.

90. *ibid.* (Frey 1229)

'Εζεχίας

A Greek transcription of Hẓqyh.

91. *ibid.* (Frey 1231)

'Ιησοῦς

92. *ibid.* (Frey 1233)

Abel suggests that this name is the Grecised form of T'nh (fig-tree) like the female name Tamar (palm-tree) found in the O.T. It is on the same ossuary as inscription 96.

Θεένας

93. *ibid.* (Frey 1239)

Φελων

94. *ibid.* (Frey 1224)

*Ανις

95. *ibid.* (Frey 1235)

The Greek name Nisos (see Pauly-Wissowa) with nunised ending; this is the reverse process to that of forming transcriptions of Jewish names with Greek '-as'.

Νίσων

96. *ibid.* (Frey 1233)

Ἰουστός Χαλκίδηνος

97. *ibid.* (Frey 1238)

...ας Φεΐδωνος ὅς καὶ Ἐπικτήτος Κωμᾶ τοῦ Σητοῦ

This inscription creates several problems. The pattern seems to me to be

Name - Patronymic - ὅς καὶ - Name - Latin Surname or Greek
Patronymic - Ethnic.

In fact we are concerned with two people, not one; and the Greek formula is not used as the equivalent to 'qui et'. This remark applies also to the formula ὁ καὶ used to connect the names of brother and sister on the Lydda ossuary (inscription 233).

I would translate:

".... son of Pheidon, and Epictetos from Setos, son of Komas"

The Greek name Komeas will be found in Pauly-Wissowa; the translation just given assumes a contracted nominative Komas. On the other hand it could be the Latin name Coma.

98. *ibid.* (Frey 1225)

Ἀριστοβοδλης

99. *ibid.* (Frey 1227)

More Diaspora Jews. In this case the family has adopted the gentilicium of the Furii and the cognomen Africanus. Here as elsewhere the substitution of 'l' for 'r' occurs.

On two ossuaries appear

Φουλεία Ἀφρειαυά

Φολεία Ἀφρειαυά

Ἀφρειαυὰς Φοβλειος

100. *ibid.* (Frey 1234)

Κοτδλλα

This is the Latin name Catulla.

Inscriptions 83-100 are from the same tomb; several Jews from the Dispersion were re-buried here.

101. Dalman, ZDPV, 1914. (Frey 1194)

S(m^c)wn bn Zkryh

102. *ibid.* (Frey 1191)

Sm^cwn L..

103. *ibid.* (Frey 1193)

The reading of the second name is emended by Yellin, ZDPV, 1918,
p.58

M^oyr bn Dwd bn

104. Mayer, JJPES, 1922-1924. (Frey 1378)

Spyr^o

Σαφεῖρα

105. Savignac, RB, 1925. (Frey 1299)

^obwnh Sm^own sb^o Yhwsp brh

That the first word means 'our father' and is not a proper
name as suggested by Lidzbarski is also indicated by inscription 121.

106. *ibid.* = (Frey 1291)

Yhwsp

107. *ibid.* (Frey 1297)

Slmtzywn brt Sm wn

108. *ibid.* (Frey 1290)

Yw^ozr bn Yhwsp

109. *ibid.* (Frey 1288)

ʾlʿzr bn St

110. *ibid.* (Frey 1298)

Smʿwn br Yw(ʾ)mtz

111. *ibid.* (Frey 1292)

Yhwsp br Smʿwn

112. *ibid.* (Frey 1295)

Inscribed twice is

Slwm ʾst Yhwdh

113. *ibid.* (Frey 1296)

Slwn bt Iyʿzr

Sukenik and Lidzbarski consider Slwn to be a contracted form of Slmtzywn.

114. *ibid.* (Frey 1293)

Slwm

and on the opposite side of the same ossuary

Σαλῶμη

This establishes conclusively the identification of these two forms with each other, as long ago suggested by Clermont-Ganneau.

115. *ibid.* (Frey 1287)

ʾlʿzr

116. *ibid.* (Frey 1294)

Slwm ʾst ʾlʿzr

117. *ibid.* (Frey 1289)

ʾ m ʾ

Savignac rejects the suggestion that this tomb is that of a High Priestly family. In fact the tomb is small and plain and the names - as noted by Mayer - are common ones.

118. Sukenik, *PJPES*, 1925 (Frey 1262)

Hnnyh bn ʿmrm

119. *ibid.* (Frey 1262)

Yhwdh bn ʿmrm

120. Ben-Zvi, *PJPES*, 1925 (not in *CLJ*)

The emended reading given by Rahmani, *Atiqot*, 1961, p.107 is

ʿly bn Smʿwn Ywhʿzr

The last word and absence of bn or br present difficulties. It is suggested that the second and third letters were transposed.

121. Sukenik, JPOS, 1928, pp.113-121 (Frey 1359)

'b' Dwsts

and

Dwsts 'bwnh wl' lmpth

For 'bwnh see inscription 105.

The last phrase - 'and not to be opened' - is the revised reading proposed by Yellin and accepted by Savignac, RB, 1929, p.233.

Dwsts is a transcription of Δωσθεος

122. ibid. (Frey 1363)

'mn Slmtzywn

This is a correction by Savignac to Sukenik's 'm(').

On the lid of the same ossuary is

Slmtzyn 'mnh

Note the omission of waw in the name.

123. ibid. (Frey 1361)

On the lid and again on the side

Mtthy

124. ibid. (Frey 1362)

'tt Mtyh wbrh

and

Slm wmtyh brh

125. ibid. (Frey 1356)

ḥntt ḥl'zr

ḥst, ḥtt and ḥntt are all used on the ossuaries.

126. ibid. (Frey 1357)

bny ḥl'zr

127. ibid. (Frey 1360)

bny Hnn
.

128. ibid. (Frey 1358)

Dwsts
.

Inscriptions 121-128 give a family tree as follows.

Dositheos had three sons Mattathiah or Matthiah, Eleazar and Hanan.

The wife and children of Eleazar and the children of Hanan are not mentioned by name; Mattathiah's son has the same name as his father.

The brother and father of Josephus (Life, 2) were both named Mattathiah.

All the names are Jewish except Dositheos, which is simply a translation of the Jewish theophoric Mattathiah.

Hanan is the hypocoristicon of Yohanan.

129. Sukenik, Yerushalaim, 1928. (Frey 1280)

ḥIoδδαϙ

130. *ibid.* (Frey 1281)

On the same ossuary are two names

Mrym

Yhnh

131. *ibid.* (Frey 1282)

The husband's name in both Jewish and Greek scripts

Ἰωδδαζ

Yhwdh

and the name of his wife

Spyrʾ

132. Sukenik, Tarbitz, 1929-1930 (Frey 1266)

On the same ossuary appear the name

Tdtywn

and status (twice)

διδασκάλου

It is difficult to make out whether we have here a secular teacher or a rabbi, though I favour the former. The name is Greek - Theodotion. A hypocoristic form occurs in inscription 134. The name recurs in Greek script in inscription 135.

133. *ibid.* (Frey 1271)

Θευμνᾶς

This is the hypocoristicon of Theomnestos.

134. *ibid.* (Frey 1265)

Slmtzywn bt Tdywn

The second name must be a hypocoristicon of Theodotion. On the analogy of inscription 133 I suggest 'Theudion'.

135. *ibid.* (Frey 1270)

Frey has not realised that his inscription 1268 is on the same ossuary (on the lid. Tarbitz, p.138)

Θεοδοτῶνος δεσ..κάλλου

The word on the lid is a poor attempt at διδάσκαλος which is given correctly in inscription 132. Is this the same man or his son?

136. *ibid.* (Frey 1273)

Σαπῖρα

and in small letter, rather crudely done, but obviously associated with the first name

Ἀνδρούς

which I take to mean 'wife of Andreas'. In the N.T. the nominative is Ἀνδρέας and the genitive Ἀνδρούς.

137. *ibid.* (Frey 1269)

Θεμντος δεεχάλου

which is a badly corrupted attempt at

Θευμνᾱτος διδασχάλου

Compare inscriptions 132, 133, 135.

138. *ibid.* (Frey 1264)

ʾlʿzr

139. Sukenik, JG, 1931 (Frey 1384)

Spyrʾ ʾntt Smʿwn

140. *ibid.* (Frey 1385)

This careful and deeply incised lettering is unique among the Greek inscriptions.

Ἰουδατος Λαγανῶνος προσηλύτου

Presumably the proselyte took a Jewish name as the seal of his conversion.

141. *ibid.* p.19 and pl.4 (not in CLJ)

Ysw

and

Yswʿ br Yhwsp

142. Maisler, PEQ, 1931 (Frey 1253)

Slmtzy bt Smy

143. Sukenik, JPOS, 1932 (Frey 1240)

Mtyh

144. ibid. (Frey 1241)

Tplh

A transcription of Theophile.

145. ibid. (Frey 1242)

Sby (or Smy) bn Yhwsp

146. ibid. (Frey 1243)

Sby bn

Nos. 143-146 are from the same tomb.

147. ibid. (Frey 1244)

Yhwhnn

148. ibid. (Frey 1245)

Slwm brt Yhwhnn

Nos. 147 and 148 are from the same tomb.

149. Sukenik, JJPES, 1934-1935. (Frey 1246)

Μάρθας

150. ibid. (Frey 1246)

Bwtwn
.

and on the same face

Sn wn Bwtwn
.

This is the Greek name Boethos (See Pauly-Wissowa) with
nunised ending.

151. ibid. (Frey 1246)

Gryd'

152. ibid. (Frey 1246)

Mttyh

and

Mtyh

153. Sukenik, Tarbitz, VI, 1935-1936. (Frey 1301)

Yhwdh br Yhwhnn br Ytr'
.

154. Sukenik, PEQ, 1937, pp.126-130 (not in CLJ)

Hnyh br 'lksh
.

Compare 'lks' of inscription 60.

For Alexas see Josephus, Antiquities (Loeb)XVII, 10 and XVIII, 138.

155. *ibid.* (Not in CIJ)

On one long face

Ἀφίας Ἀθηνα(γόρου)

and on one short face

ᾠπῆς βτ ᾠνγρς

The combined readings make both certain.

156. Sukenik, BASOR, 88, 1942 (not CIJ)

Emended by B. Lifshitz, RB, 1963, pp.264-265.

σαλῶ Ἰωσήφ, Μαρία κορασίου,

Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἐλιέζερ διδυμοί.

There are four names; three at least are children. This is the largest number of re-burials known in one ossuary. Σαλῶ is a transcription of the valedictory slwm.

According to Milik, Kedem II (Hebrew), which I have been unable to obtain, gives the rest of the inscriptions. Milik (DF, pp.77, 79,87,88) mentions Μαριάμη (three times) and Sm'wn, Yhwntn, Yhwhnn.

157. Sukenik, AJA, 1947 (not CIJ)

Sm'wn br ...

158. *ibid.*

Mrym brt Sm'wn

159. *ibid.*

The controversial reading offered by Sukenik is emended by Bagatti, DF, pp.170-171 to

Ἰησοῦς Ἰουδα.

Either the last name is a direct transcription of the Jewish name as in inscription 57, or the termination has been worn away.

160. *ibid.*

Ἰησοῦς ἄλωθ

The second word has not been satisfactorily explained as yet.

161. *ibid.*

Mty

162. Frey, CIJ, 1952, no. 1387; emended Milik, DF, p.79

Μαριάμη Ἐλεάζαρου καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς

163. Milik, LA, 1957.

Σελαμασίων

Slmtzywn

164. *ibid.*

Slmnh

165. *ibid.*

Yhwhnn br Sm'wn

166. *ibid.*

Sm'wn br Hdq'

Hidqa was the name of a disciple of Aqiba.

167. *ibid.*

Mttyh br Yhwsh

168. *ibid.*

Sm'wn br Ywhnn

Yhwhnn is the common spelling; the reading here is uncertain.

169. *ibid.*

Slmtzyh

170. *ibid.*

Sm'wn

171. *ibid.*

'Idεt

A transcription of the hypocoristicon of Yair or Yohanan.

172. *ibid.*

Sm'wn

173. *ibid.*

'qyb'

174. ibid. tomb of Jebel er-Ras

'Iσάx

175. ibid. tomb of Karm esh-Sheikh

Twice on the lid is inscribed

'Ιωάνης

176. Milik, DF, 1958, pp.70-109, inscription 1

'Ιάειρος

177. ibid. no. 3

Mtyh bn Td'

The last name is a transcription of Theudas or some such hypocoristicon.

On the same ossuary occur

(Y)hwdh

and again

Mtyh

178. ibid. no. 4

Inscribed twice is the name

Ysm^()l

Nos. 177-178 belong to the same family.

179. ibid. no. 5

Sm^()wn

180. ibid. no. 6

sm'1

181. ibid. no. 7

On the side is

Mrth wmyh

and on the opposite aide and again on the lid are

Mrth Mrym

182. ibid. no. 8

Slm wbnh

183. ibid. no. 9

Φίλων Κυρηναῖος

The ethnic means 'of Cyrene'.

184. ibid. no. 11

Sm'wm br

185. ibid. no. 12

Yhwny hhrs

186. ibid nos. 13A,B; emended Lifshitz, ZDPV, 1962, p.79

Ἰοῦδαν προσήλυτος Τύρου

and in the centre of the lid

Spyr'

Judan is also found in inscription 89. The last word of the Greek is an ethnic 'of Tyre'; for the use of the genitive in this way see also inscription 97.

He is either a Gentile who adopted the Jewish faith and sealed this conversion with a Jewish name, or a Jewish proselyte to the 'Nazarenes'. Perhaps his marriage to a Jewish woman provides part of the reason for his conversion.

187. *ibid.* no. 15

Inscribed twice is the name

Mrym

188. *ibid.* no. 16

Qymw Yhwntn

The first name is a well-known Nabataean one.

Inscriptions 179-188 belong to the same family.

189. *ibid.* no. 17

From complex 82-92 comes only this name, inscribed twice on the same ossuary.

Slmtzyn

190. ibid. no. 18

From chamber 280 come this inscription and the next.

(^oIw)άνης· ^oIούδας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ

191. ibid. no. 19

Slm brt ^owy

192. ibid. no. 20

From complex 294-301 come the next three inscriptions.

Yhwsp br

193. ibid. nos. 21A, B

Διογένης προσήλυτος Ζηνᾶ

and again with inversion of the last two words.

The patronymic is the Greek name Zenas.

194. ibid. no. 22

Mnhm mn bn^o Ykym khn

The priestly family of Yakim is mentioned in the O.T.

(I Chron., XXIV, 27).

195. ibid. no. 23

From complex 355-369 come this inscription and the next.

Mtt^o

196. ibid no. 24

Yhwntn br ...

197. ibid. no. 25

From complex 370-376 comes only

... br 'l'zr

198. ibid No. 26

From complex 384-389 come the next two inscriptions.

Hnnyh br Mnhm
.

199. ibid no. 27

Mtyh br hqwh

200. ibid. no. 28

From kokh 425 come this inscription and the next.

'Αβασχάντου

201. ibid no. 29

Ysw^c

202. ibid no. 30

From complex 427-438 come inscriptions 202-212.

'Αζάριος Ζαχαρίου

Both are Jewish names.

203. ibid no. 31

Slm hgyrt

See too inscription 40.

204. ibid no. 32

Inscriptions 204-212 are all from chamber 437.

Yhwsp br 'grh

205. ibid no. 33

Twbyh br 'grh

206. ibid no. 34

The inscription

Hnnyh br Sm'wn

is inscribed twice together with the name of his wife

Mryh brt 'grh

This is the daughter and son-in-law of Agrah.

207. ibid no. 35

w'ydh

208. ibid no. 36

'zryh br Zkryh

These are the same two names as occur in Greek script in inscription 202.

209. ibid no. 37

Μαριάμη Ἐλαζάρου Σιμώνος Ζαχαρίου

and at an angle

Snyyt

The other names are clustered round 'Mariam', which is larger than the rest and the only name in the nominative. Milik's suggestion that this is a mother and her children is obviously correct.

210. ibid no. 38

Slwm ʾtt Spyr

211. ibid no. 39

Mrtʾ ʾmnw

212. ibid no. 40

Inscribed twice is the name

Ysw ʿ

213. ibid no. 43

From complex 452-463 come inscriptions 213-215. All the names are Greek except Maria. Is this a family from the Diaspora?

Δημαρχίας

214. ibid no. 41

Χρήσιμος πατήρ Δημαρχ(ίας)

Μαρά

Στοργή

The inscription is scratched on rather carelessly. Milik's suggestion that the first name should be

Μαρία

seems the best explanation of it. The two female names were in fact scratched above that of the father through lack of space.

215. ibid no. 42

Σrh
.

216. ibid pp.106-107.

An ossuary at the DAI Jerusalem. The inscription is offered without commentary. I was able to confirm this reading from the ossuary itself. (fig. 199)

Repeated five times with inversions of word order is

Δωσος γυνή Πρώτατος θυγάτηρ Τειμεισελωνος

Within the ossuary appears once more

Πρώτατος

Protas is also found in inscription 54.

217. Rahmani, Atiqot, 1961, p.107, no. 1

Sn(wn w)tt

The other inscription here is my number 120.

218. Avigad, IEJ, 1962, pp.1-12.

'Αρριστόβο(λα)

and

Σόρρα 'Αρριστόβουλα

This is poor Greek for 'Αρριστόβουλα together with a poor transcription of the Jewish name Srh which occurs in inscription 215.

219. ibid.

Φιλίσκος

220. ibid

Σαβατις μήτηρ Δάμωνος

The first name is a feminine form from Sbtty.

221. ibid.

The name and age formula are repeated but not the patronymic.

Θαλιάρχος L^K Δωσίθεου

222. ibid.

Μνασοῦς

This is the genitive of the female name Μνασώ

223. ibid.

Ῥρήα

224. ibid.

Σάρα Σίμωνος Πτυλεμαίχη

and

Σάρας

That Ptolemais in Cyrenaica is meant emerges from inscription

226.(ibid.)

225. ibid.

Ἀλεξάνδρος Σίμων

corrected on the back of the ossuary to

Ἀλεξάνδρος Σίμωνος

after a false start

Σίμων Αλε

226. *ibid.*

'Αλεξανδρου lksndrws qrnvt

On the analogy of inscription 40 the last word is the ethnic
'of Cyrene'.

227. *ibid.*

Υ'qwb

Inscriptions 218-227 are from the tomb of a family of Jews
from Cyrenaica. The names Thaliarchos, Philiskos, Sabbatis, Damon and
Yakob do not occur on any other ossuaries, but were all known (and nearly
all common) in the Jewish communities of Egypt and Cyrenaica at this
period. Acts 6, v.9 mentions a synagogue of the Cyrenaican community in
Jerusalem.

228. Rahmani, Eretz-yisrael, 1967, p.188

A false start of the first three letters and then the name in
full twice

'Αλεξανδρου

229. On an unpublished ossuary from the DAJ Jerusalem. (fig. 162)

Ywhn'

All the letters are clear; the waw is only slightly longer than the yodh, but this is found elsewhere.

I find in my notes I have recorded an inscription on one short face also without investigating further.

230. on the decorated face of an unpublished ossuary. (fig. 185)

In one half-circle is

Yhwsp

and below this a word which I am uncertain of, but which seems to be

Mnhwn

In the next half-circle to the right is

Yhwsp bn Y'qb 'tt

In the next half-circle to the right is

Mrth bt

231. On an unpublished ossuary from St. Anne's, Jerusalem. (fig. 69)

Κλεόπατρα Στράτωνος

Straton was the Greek transcription of the Phoenician name of several kings of Sidon on their coins. It seems likely that Cleopatra is from Sidon or some other Phoenician city.

232. On an unpublished ossuary from the Museum of the Flagellation,
Jerusalem. (fig. 42)

Mrth bt Hnnyh
.

ADDENDA

233. Ossuary of Lydda. AR, II, pp.341-349; Musee, pp.74-75 (Frey 1173)

Πυρινοῦν δ καὶ Μαλθακῆς υἱῶν Ἀλκίου Σίμωνος Γωβάρ

Alkios is also found on the Gezer boundary stones. Purinous was an epithet of Hermes (Pauly-Wissowa). Malthake was the name of the wife of Herod.

234. Ossuary from Kefar Baruch in the Plain of Esdraelon.

RB, 1958, pp.418-419; Atiqot, Hebrew Series, 1959, p.207 photo.

Ἰοῦδας Θαδδαίου

235. Ossuary from Nazareth or its environs (Frey 988)

Dalman, ZDPV, 1914, p.136 no. 3; Poznanski, ibid. 1918, p.57;

Yellin, ibid. 1918, p.58; Schütz, 1931, pp.290-291.

There is no dispute as to the beginning of the inscription

Sw'm br Mnhm

and Schütz seems to have established the rest as

nwh nps

236. Macalister, Gezer, I, 1912, pp.347, 348, 382; Vincent, RB, pp.
102-103. (Frey 1181)

•
Srw br 'ly'zr

237. ibid. (Frey 1177)

• Hwn br Yhwny
•

238. ibid. (Frey 1176)

'l'zr br

The last name does not give a satisfactory reading.

239. ibid. (Frey 1178)

Kskws

One must also add to the published material the inscriptions
on two ossuaries on display in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, given
by the compiler of the Gallery Book. These two ossuaries are from
Jerusalem.

240. GB 1207 (S2580)

• Ynhh Mrym

241. GB 1205 (33.3114)

'Iωάνης

CATALOGUE OF PERSONS: JEWISH NAMES

'grh	204, 205, 206
'gt'	48
'ydh	207
'ly'zr	236
'l'zr (scribe)	13
'l'zr (son of Nattai)	15
'l'zr	61
'l'zr with 'Ελιέζρος (son of Eleazar)	70
'l'zr with GEN 'Ελεαζάρου	70
'l'zr	84
'l'zr (son of Seth)	109
'l'zr	115, 116
'l'zr	125, 126
'l'zr	138
'Ελιέζερ (twin)	156

'Ελεάζαρ 162

)l(zr 197

GEN 'Ελαζάρου 209

)l(zr 238

)l(sh 39

'm' 117

)myh with 'Αμμεία (of Bethshan-Skythopolis) 62

)nyh 63

)nyn with Hnyn and 'Ανών (of Bethshan-Skythopolis) 63

'Ανός 94

)sm'l 180

Βενιαμίν (son of Simeon) 88

Gml' 79

Gryd' 151

Dwd 103

Zkryh 101

GEN Zaxaplov 202

Zkryh 208

GEN Zaxaplov 209

Hdq' 166

Hn' (rabbi) 87

Hnwn (son of Yehoni) 221

Hnyh (son of Alexas) 154

Hnyn with 'nyn and 'Avlv (of Bethshan-Skythopolis) 63

Hnn 127

Hnnyh 24

Hnnyh (son of Amram) 118

Hnnyh (son of Menahem) 198

Hnnyh 232

Twbyh (Son of Agra) 205

'Idet 171

Y'yr 1

Y'yr 6

'Ιάειρος	with GEN 'Ιαείρου	4, 5
'Ιάειρος		176
Yhwdh	(scribe, son of Eleazar)	13
Yhwdh		17, 18, 19
Yhwdh		20
Yhwdh	(son of Hananiah)	24
'Ιοβδα	(son of Judah of Bethel)	57
GEN 'Ιοβδου	(of Bethel)	57
GEN 'Ιοβδου	(son of Phaidros)	57
Yhwdh		65
Yhwdh		67
'Ιοβδαν		89
Yhwdh		112
Yhwdh	(son of Amram)	119
'Ιοβδας		129
Yhwdh	with 'Ιοβδας	131
GEN 'Ιοβδατος		140

Yhwdh (son of John, son of Jethro) 153

GEN 'Ioθδα 159

(Y)hwdh 177

'Ioθδαν (proselyte, of Tyre) 186

'Ioθδας (son of John) 190

'Ioθδας (son of Thaddaios) 234

'Iωάννου 4

Yhwhnn 7

Yhwhnn 8

Yhw(hn)n or Yhw(nt)n 30

Yhwhnn (son of Joseph) 31

Yhwhnn (son of Tzibia) 52

Yhwhnn 66

Yhwhnn 73

Yhwhnn 147, 148

Yhwhnn (son of Jethro) 153

Yhwhnn (son of Simeon) 165

'Iωάνης	175
('Iω)άνης	190
'Iωάνης	241
Yhw(nt)n or Yhw(hn)n	30
Yhwntn	188
Yhwntn	196
Yhwsh	167
Yhwsp (son of John)	7
Yhwsp	9
Yhwsp	31, 33
Yhwsp with 'Iωσ(ηφ)	35
GEN ('Iω)σήπου	49
'Iώης (son of Judah, son of Phatdros)	57
Yhwsp	59
Yhwsp with 'Iώηπος (son of Simeon, son of Qallon)	78
'Iώηπος (son of Qallon, son of Simeon, son of Qallon)	80
Yhwsp (son of Simeon)	105

Yhwsp	106	
Yhwsp	108	
Yhwsp (son of Simeon)	111	
Yhwsp	141	
Yhwsp	145	
'Iwōnφ	156	
'Iwōnφ (twin)	156	
Yhwsp	192	
Yhwsp (son of Agrah)	204	
Yhwsp (son of Jacob)	230	
Yhw'zr with Yw'zr (son of Yehezeq)	75	
Yhw'zr with Yw'zr (son of Simeon, son of Qallon)	76	
Yhw'zr (son of Qallon)	77, 79	
Yhw'zr	120	
Yw(')mtz	110	
Ywhn'	229	
Ywhnh	240	

Ywhn	168	
Yw ⁶ zr	81	
Yw ⁶ zr (son of Joseph)	108	
Yhwny (craftsman)	185	
Yhwny	237	
Yhzq (son of Qallon)	75	
Yh(z)qyh	68	
'EΞεxλας	90	
Yhnh	130	
Yhnh	240	
GEN 'Iαxεfμou	82	
Ysh	53	
Y ⁶ qwb	227	
Y ⁶ qb	230	
Y ⁶ qybyh (priest)	83	
Ytzhq	2	
'Iσδx	174	

Ysw with Ysw ^ϸ (son of Joseph)	141
Ysw ^ϸ	14
'Iεσoυ ^ϸ	25
Ysw ^ϸ	32
Ysw ^ϸ (son of Matthai or Natai)	41
'Inσoυ ^ϸ	91
'Inσoυ ^ϸ (son of Judah)	159
'Inσoυ ^ϸ (proselyte, son of Iaganion)	160
Ysw ^ϸ	201
Ysw ^ϸ	212
Ysm ^ϸ '1	178
Ytr ^ϸ	153
Kskws	223
Lwy with GEN Aευε ^ϸ	71
Ly ^ϸ zr	113
L ^ϸ zr	23

M'yr (son of David)	103
Mnhm with Mavánu	35
Mnhm (of the line of Yakim)	194
Mnhm	198
Mnhm	219
GEN Mapιάδοc	27
Mapía	34
Mryh (proselyte, from Doliche)	40
Mryh	53
Mapía (of Capua, wife of Alexander)	58
Mryh with Mrym	181
Mryh (daughter of Agrah)	206
Mrym (wife of John)	66
Mrym with Mapιάνη (wife of Yehezeqiah)	68
Mrym (daughter of Yehezeq)	75
Mrym	130

Mapla (the little one)	156	
Mrym (daughter of Simeon)	158	
Mapi&uη (wife of Eleazar)	162	
Mrym	187	
Mapi&uη (mother of Zakariah, Eleazar, Simeon, Shenit)	209	
Map(ℓ)a	214	
Mrym (daughter of Joseph, son of Jacob)	240	
Mrt' (daughter of Patzhai)	16	
(Mr)t'	85	
Mrt '	211	
Mrth	51	
Mrth	74	
GEN Mapθac	149	
Mrth	181	
Mrth	230	
Mrth (daughter of Hananiah)	232	

Mty (or Nty)	41
Mty	161
Maθlou (son of Kastos)	45
Mtyh with Mttyh	123, 124
Mtyh (son of Matthew)	124
Mtyh	143
Mtyh with Mttyh	152
Mtyh (son of Theudas)	177
Mtyh (son of the weaver)	199
Mtt ⁹	195
Ματθαθλου	44
Mttyh (son of Jose)	167
Nty	15
Nty (or Mty)	41
Sw ^c m (son of Menahem)	219
Srw (son of Eleazar)	220
Srh	215

Σάρα	(of Ptolemais, daughter of Simeon) and GEN Σάρας	224
Σόρρα	218	
‘wy	191	
’Αζαρίας	(son of Zakariah)	202
‘zryh	(son of Zakariah)	208
‘ly	(son of Simeon)	120
‘mrm	118, 119	
‘nyh	63	
‘qyb’	173	
Pd’	21	
Pynhs	83	
Ptzh(y)	16	
Tzby’	52	
Qymw	188 (Nabataean)	
Qlwn with Kάλλων	(of the priestly line of Yeshebab)	75-77, 79, 80
Kάλλων	(son of Simeon, son of Qallon)	78, 80

Sby or Smy (son of Joseph)	145
Sby	146
Σαβατῆς (mother of Damon)	220
Slwm (wife of Judah)	18, 19
Σαλώμη (wife of Joseph)	33
Slwm	36
Σαλώμη (of Bethshan-Skythopolis, wife of Papias)	64
Σαλώμη (wife of Yakim)	82
Slwm (wife of Judah)	112
Slwm with Σαλώμη	114
Slwm (wife of Eleazar)	116
Slwm (daughter of John)	148
Slwm (wife of Saphir)	210
Slwn (daughter of Leazar)	113
Slm (wife of Judah)	20, 21
Slm (wife of Matthew)	124
Slm (daughter of Awry)	191

Slm (proselyte) 203

Slmnh 164

Slmtzy (daughter of Shammai) 142

Slmtzywn (daughter of Simeon the priest) 12

Slmtzywn (daughter of Gamala, wife of Yehoezer son of Qallon) 79

Slmtzywn 86

Slmtzywn (daughter of Simeon) 107

Slmtzywn with Slmtzyn 122

Slmtzywn (daughter of Theudion) 134

Slmtzywn with Σελαμασίων 163

Slmtzywh 169

Slmtzyn 189

Smy 142

Smy or Sby (son of Joseph) 145

Sn'wn (priest) 12

Sn'wn (son of Yeshua) 14

Sm^cwn 47

Sm^cwn (son of Yehezeq) 75

Sm^cwn (son of Qallon) with GEN Σέμωνος 76, 78, 80

Sm^cwn (son of Yehoezer) 77

Σουδων 88

S(m^c)wn (son of Zakariah) 101

Sm^cwn 102

sm^cwn 105

Sm^cwn 107

Sm^cwn (son of Yoamatz) 110

Sm^cwn 111

Sm^cwn 120

Sm^cwn 139

Sm^cwn (son of Boethos) 150

Sm^cwn 157, 158

Sm^cwn (son of Hidqa) 165, 166

Sm^cwn (son of John) 168

Sm'wn	170	
Sm'wn	172	
Sm'wn	179	
Sm'wn	184	
Sm'wn	206	
GEN Σίμωνος	(Gobar)	209
Sm'wn	217	
Σίμων	with GEN Σίμωνος	224, 225
Snyyt	209	
Spyr	210	
Spyr'	with Σαφείρα	104
Spyr'	(wife of Judah)	131
Σαππα	(wife of Andrew)	136
Spyr'	(wife of Simeon)	139
Spyr'	186	
Θεένας	92	

A CATALOGUE OF PERSONS: GREEK NAMES

'Αβασχάντου	GEN	200	
'Αθηνα(γέρου)	GEN	and 'tngrs (father of Apphia)	155
'Αλεξάνδρου	GEN	58	
'Αλεξάνδρου	GEN	and 'lksndrws (of Cyrene)	226
'Αλεξάνδρου	GEN	228	
'lks'		(son of Nikanor)	60
'lksh		154	
'Αλχιου	GEN	(son of Simon)	233
'Ανδροῦς	GEN	(husband of Saphira)	136
'Αντιγόνα		38	
'Απφίας	GEN	and 'pyhs (daughter of Athenagoras)	155
'Αριστοβόλης	GEN	98	
'Αρριστέβουλα		218	

Βερνίχη with Βερνίχης and Βηγύ 3

Βwtwn (transcription of Boethos) 150

Δάμωνος GEN 220

Δημαρχίας GEN (daughter of Chresimos) 213,214

Διογένης (proselyte, son of Zenas) 193

Δωσιθέου GEN 221

Dwsts 121

Dsts (son of Dositheos) 128

Δωσοῦς GEN (wife of Protas, daughter of Teimision) 216

Ἐπίκτητος 97

Ἐρωτ(α)ρίου GEN 56

Ἐυτραπέλου GEN 37

Ζηνᾶ GEN 193

Ζηναροῦτος 11

Ἡδῆα 29

Θαδδαίου GEN 218

Θαλαρχος	(son of Dositheos)	221
Θεοδωτωνος	with Tdtwn (teacher)	132,135
Tplh	(transcription of Theophile)	144
Twdws	(transcription of Theudas)	65
Td	(transcription of Theudas)	177
Tdywn	(transcription of Theudion)	134
Θευμνας		133
Θε(υ)μν(α)τος	GEN	137
Καστου	GEN	45
Κλεδοπατρα	(daughter of Straton)	231
Qrqs		22
Κρεχος		50
Κερθας	GEN	28
Κωμλ	GEN	97

Μαλθακης GEN (daughter of Alkios) 217

Μνασευς GEN 222

Μοσχας GEN 26

Νικάνδρου GEN 43

Νεικάνερος GEN (Alexandrian, who gave the Gates) 60

Νqnr (son of Nikanor) 60

Ντισον for Ντισος 95

Παπίας with Ppys (of Skythopolis) 64

Πάπος 55

Πρωτας 54

Πρωτατος GEN 216

Πτολμα GEN with (Tl)mh (son of Jair) 6

Πυρινοον GEN nunised (son of Alkios) 217

Πώλλα 10

Στδργη 214

Στράτωνος GEN 231

Τρῶφωνος GEN 42

Τρῶν 69,72

Τειμεισεῖωνος GEN 216

Φαίδρου GEN 57

Φεῖδωνος GEN 97

Φιλίσκος 219

Φίλων 93

Φίλων (of Cyrene) 183

Χρήσιμος 214

Ψῆρα 223

Κοτῶλλα (Catulla) 100

Φουλέος Ἀφρειακός (Furius Africanus) 99

Φουλέα Ἀφρειακὰ (Furia Africana) 99

Ιούστος (Justus of Chalcis) 96

Βερουταρίου GEN (Verutarius) 42,43

The commonest names are Simeon (27 persons) Joseph (22) Judas (19) Eleazar (18) John (14 or 15) Matthew (11 or 12) and Jesus (10); Salome (15) Mary (14) Shelamtziyon (10) and Martha (9). Names which occur four or five times are Joezer, Menahem, Jair, Hananiah, Zakariah and Saphira. Others occur three or less times.

The vast majority of the names - even of those inscribed in Greek script - are Jewish ones.

In a few cases the status of the dead person in the community is given:

Juda the scribe 14

Simeon the priest 15

Maria the proselyte 40

Yaqibiah the priest 83

Hani the rabbi 87

Theodotion the teacher (rabbi?) 132, 135

Theummas the teacher (rabbi?) 137

Judah the proselyte, son of Laganion 140

Yehoni the craftsman 185

Iudan from Tyre, the proselyte 186

Diogenes the proselyte, son of Zenas 193

Menahem, priest of the line of Yakim 194

Matthiah son of the weaver 199

Shalom the proselyte 203

Sometimes it is clear that a particular individual was a member of the Diaspora who spent his last days in Palestine or had his bones re-buried in its holy soil. Those named are Maria, wife of Alexander, from Capua in Italy (58); Nikanor the wealthy Alexandrian, whose sons at least were re-buried in Jerusalem (60); Ammiah, Hanin, Papias and Salome from Skythopolis (62, 63, 64); Justus of Chalcis (96); Epictetus from Setos, the son of Komas (97); Philon of Cyrene (183); Sarah of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, daughter of Simeon (224) and her kinsman, Alexander of Cyrene (226). In addition the proselyte Judan comes from Tyre, and the proselyte Maria from Doliche. The Judah of 57 is from Bethel. Others may also be from the Diaspora, especially some of those with Greek names.

Jewish names are preferred by those with any religious status. The scribe, rabbi and priests are named Judah, Hani, Simeon, Yaqibiah, Menahem. The Bene Hezir inscription points the same lesson. It is impossible to know exactly what the Greek word 'didaskalos' signifies in inscriptions 132, 135,

137 with the accompanying Greek names Theodotion and Theudas. Both the name and the occupation seem to be hereditary in the family.

Some proselytes change their names to Jewish ones - Maria of Doliche, Judah son of Laganion, Judan of Tyre and Shalom (40, 140, 186, 203). On the other hand Diogenes son of Zenas keeps his Greek name (193).

Only two temporal occupations have been recorded, both on ossuaries from the cemeteries at 'Dominus flevit' on the Mount of Olives - Yehoni the craftsman and Matthiah son of the weaver (185, 199).

Inscriptions 218-227 are of a family of Cyrenaican Jews. Even the Jewish names of this family are rare or unknown to the nomenclature of the ossuaries of Palestinian Jewry (Yakob, Sarah, Sabatis). The Greek names Philiskos, Damon, Thaliarchos, Mnaso and Horea are also only found here. Alexander, the commonest Greek name on the ossuaries, occurs here and on two other ossuaries outside this family (58, 228).

In all 69 Jews with Greek names are recorded in the inscriptions, 5 with Latin names, 277 with Jewish names. Eight of those with Greek names are from the Cyrenaican family; one

from Skythopolis; three from Lydda; two from Alexandria; one from Setos; one from Cyrene.

Others too may belong to members of the Diaspora. For instance the ossuaries from the storage vault on the Mount of Olives (inscriptions 12-29) are more difficult to make out. There are thirty ossuaries; the size of the family alone, since ossuaries were not used for more than four generations, would seem to indicate ramifications in the Diaspora. No inter-relationships can be worked out except that inscriptions 17-19 belong to the same couple. It is impossible to say whether Krokos, Mosche, Kurtha and Hedeia were from Palestine or not. Four members of the family were named Judah; the recurrence of favoured names within a certain family is well illustrated by inscriptions 75-80.

The Skythopolitan Jewish family provides us with four Jewish names. Papias is the only Greek name here. Other Greek names we have no hope of placing in the context of a family or place, though some must belong to Jerusalem itself. Such are nos. 10, 11, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 50, 65, 69, 72, 140, 228, 231. The names Cleopatra and Straton of 231 have an Egypto-Phoenician flavour that tempts one to think of Sidon or some other coastal city. Inscription 233 gives two latest generations of a Jewish

family of Lydda with the names Pyrinous, Malthake and Alkios; but the grandfather has Jewish names. By way of contrast in 57 son and father have Jewish names, but the grandfather is named Phaidros and in 234 the son has a Jewish name, the father the Greek name Thaddaios.

Other Greek names are in the context of a family group:

3-6: with John, Jair and Joseph are the Greek names Ptolmas and Berenice. Ptolmas and Joseph are brothers, the sons of Jair son of John.

52-56: with John, Tzibia, Mariam and Jose are the Greek names Protas, Paphos and Erotarias.

83-100: here we have a group of Palestinian Jews, some from Palmyra (omitted from my catalogue) and a third group made up of Greek and Latin names. One cannot tell which of the Greco-Latin group lived in Palestine and which lived in the Diaspora. The names are Philon, Nisos, Pheidon, Epictetus, Aristobula; Justus, Furius, Furia, Catulla; and either the Greek name Komas or the Latin name Coma.

121-128: the names are all Jewish except for Dositheos, which is a translation of Mattathiah.

132-138: with Eleazar, Saphira, Shelamtziyon are the Greek names Theodotion, Theumnas (hypocoristicon of Theomnestos), Theudion (hypocoristicon of Theodotion) and Andreas.

143-146: with Matthew, Shobai and Joseph is the Greek name Theophile - again a theophoric as in 121-128, 132-138.

149-152: with Simeon, Matthew, Grida, Martha is Boethos.

154-155: with Honiah are Alexas, Apphia, Athenagoras.

Among the family groups from 'Dominus flevit' a single Greek name occurs in 176-178 (Theudas or Thaddas) and 179-188 (Philon of Cyrene). Together with Menahem, priest of the line of Yakim we find the proselyte Diogenes, son of Zenas (192-194). Abaskantos and the Jewish name Yeshua are from a detached kokh. In 213-215 the Jewish names Maria and Sarah are accompanied by the Greek ones Chresimos, Demarchia and Storge.

Other families adhered rigidly to Jewish names. The family tree after inscription 80 well illustrates this point.

It is striking that many of the names are also found in the New Testament and in the narrative of the Herodian period in Josephus, as a concordance and the Loeb index of names will show. For instance in the New Testament we have Alexander, Andrew, Anna, Annas, Aristobula, Benjamin, Berenice, Elisabeth, Gamaliel, Hezekiah, Isaac, Jair, Jesus, John, Joanna, Joseph,

Judas, Justus, Lazarus (Eleazar), Levi, Martha, Mary, Matthew, Menahem, Nathanael, Nicolaos, Nikanor, Salome, Saphira, Simon, Thaddeus, Theophilos, Zakariah, Zenas. In Antiquities, Loeb, 7-12 alone we have Salome, Alexas, Alexander, Berenice, Aristobulus; elsewhere Shelamtziyon, Malthake etc. The correspondence of the ossuary nomenclature with literary accounts of the Herodian period is thus very striking, and tends to confirm the date 40 BC-AD 70 for these products of Jewish art - a date already well-founded on our knowledge of the destruction of the Temple, of pottery forms found in the tombs and of the palaeography of the inscriptions.

Part I, Fascicle iv

INTRODUCTION

THAT THE OSSUARIES ARE JEWISH

This brief section is designed to establish what was long taken for granted, but has recently been strongly contested: that the ossuaries are Jewish. Recent publications by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum have been designed to establish that these ossuaries belonged to a Judeo-Christian sect, of which Bagatti and Frey claim to have found many pre-Constantinian relics. I am not aiming to contest their conclusions about the later material, but their view of the ossuaries must be largely rejected.

The comments with the following bibliography are an important introduction to this section.

Part I, Fascicle iv

BIBLIOGRAPHY

P. B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik. "Gli Scavi del 'Dominus flevit',
Monte Olivetto, Gerusalemme: Parte 1 La
Necropoli del Periodo Romano" (Jerusalem,
Franciscan Press, 1958) Henceforth DF.

pp.166-179 express Bagatti's views at this stage;
with fig. 39 nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 17. His arguments
are based on the names of the ossuary inscriptions,
the tau, and - mainly - the chi rho monogram. His
conclusions are mild, and he regards only the last
as decisive. The monogram is given in the frontis-
piece and fig. 17 no. 1. This is on ossuary 21 from
Dominus flevit; the same ossuary has inscription 13A,
read by Milik and revised by Lifshitz, ZDPV, 1962,
p.79.

R. de Vaux. RB, 1959, pp.299-301. This is a review of DF,
in which Bagatti's conclusions are rejected.

B. Lifshitz. ZDPV, 1962, p.79. Emended reading of inscription
13A of DF. The photograph photo 12 DF shows the
reading 'of Tyre' is correct. See my Part I,
fascicle iii, page 39. inscription 186.

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M. Avi-Yonah. "Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions: the Near East 200 BC - AD 1100", Supplement to QDAP, 1940. Henceforth AGI.

This gives the various senses of the abbreviation chi rho in Greek inscriptions from the Greek islands, Asia Minor, Egypt, etc.

P. E. Testa "Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani" (Jerusalem, Franciscan Press, publication no. 14 of Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1962) Henceforth SGC.

For the ossuaries see especially:

pp.446-458 Jewish abomination of bones.

pp.459-474 by P. B. Bagatti. Chronology of the ossuaries. (False conclusions from non-homogeneous Judaeon and late Galilean pottery.)

pp.475-487 The N.T. onomastics of the ossuaries.

Excursus VII, pp.487-513: examines the 'symbolism' of the decoration and graffiti of the ossuaries.

For the system of symbolism as applied to ossuaries see too pp.231-360 The Symbol of the Cross (Two-horned cross, three-horned cross, ship, ladder, serpent, tree of life)

I find myself responding to interpretations given for much of the later material, where the formulae are

clearly Christian. But his absorption of the ossuaries into the body of his argument in order to strengthen his case is an error of judgement. That there is some symbolism is undoubtedly true, but I am equally convinced that it is Jewish, not Christian. Some of the interpretations of ossuary decor I find frankly fantastic. e.g., Fig.136, no. 1 and pl. 36, photo 2 where a trefoil on ossuary 94 of DF is interpreted as a penis or 'Cross-Phallus' (pp.331-340). But this is a purely decorative motif found alongside other floral and geometric motifs in the repertoire of the Jerusalemite artist of the Herodian period. See my Part II, fascicle vi, 'The Grape Tomb'. It should be noted that Testa relies on Patristic texts of the 2nd and 3rd cAD, which support some of his interpretations of material of that date; but the ossuaries are earlier than this, and pre-date the cultural situation reflected by them.

P. B. Bagatti "L'Eglise de la Circoncision" (Franciscan Press,
Jerusalem, 1965) Henceforth EC.

pp.219-222 and index under 'ossuaires'.

In this Bagatti has adopted the extreme views and over-statements of Testa's work. He holds that the ossuaries en bloc are "Judeo-Christian". The

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arguments produced are again that the names have a N.T. flavour, that Jews were forbidden to touch the bones of the dead; in addition he makes the point that the proselyte of DF inscription 13A has a Jewish name, and so must be a proselyte from not to orthodox Jewry.

Some of Bagatti's conclusions have also been published in 'La Terre Sainte', April, 1965, p.99 no. 1 and Sept.-Oct., 1965, p.229 nos. 1, 4.

P. I. Mancini A review of the work and conclusions of Bagatti and Frey is given on pp.37-42 of 'La Terre Sainte', Feb., 1965, in a short article entitled 'L'Eglise de la Circoncision'.

THAT THE OSSUARIES ARE JEWISH

Testa, SGC, attempts to prove that the ossuaries en masse are Christian (Judeo-Christian) not Jewish. In fact the main service which he has done the scholarly world is that of collecting together with drawings and photographs a number of crudely incised, charcoaled or painted graffiti which occur on the ossuaries, often in the form of hooked strokes or upright and diagonal crosses (that is in the form of the Hebrew letters waw and taw). It can be shown that a number of these marks have reference to the matching positions of the body and lid of the ossuary concerned, or to some other practical detail. But there still remains a fairly large body of these crude graffiti or painted swathes which are obviously deliberately incised, and which seem to be symbolic; at least they are certainly not intended as ornament, and they seem to serve no practical purpose. The interpretation of these as Hebrew letters - especially the old form of the taw - with some definite attribution of meaning or power seems reasonable.

However the esoteric system of symbolism conjured about them by Testa is not acceptable. It is based on the false assumption that these ossuaries are Christian, and derives support from wrong conclusions by Bagatti about the date of the Jerusalem ossuaries (that they stretch from the 1st to the 3rd cAD). The late 2nd or 3rd c Patristic texts quoted by Testa do not help to establish his

case as far as the ossuaries are concerned. He also argues that the Jews had an absolute aversion to touching bones once the corpse was laid to rest, and brings rabbinic texts to support his contention. But these do not controvert the texts quoted by scholars like Sukenik and Rahmani (supra I,ii,4) which are concerned with the re-burial of bones in burial-chests once the flesh had fallen away from them. This practice is explained partly as a form of expiation, partly as a preparation for bodily resurrection.

In the whole mass of the ossuaries Testa mostly points to only one or two examples of the strokes and letters which he seizes upon. Often it is difficult to make out the form of a stroke, let alone to agree with his interpretation of it. Explicit Christian formulae, like 'ichthus' or 'IHXP' are not found.

However the old form of the tau stands out among this collection of graffiti. It is shown, for instance, on fig. 112, nos. 4, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24; fig. 117, no. 1; and plates 37 and 38. These upright and diagonal cross-strokes may well be some Jewish form of symbolism; they occur not only as small hooked scratches, but also as swathes of thick red paint with the two forms superimposed upon each other. (ibid. fig. 117, nos. 13, 14.) Yet another form is that of large, fairly neat, charcoal strokes upon all four faces (as Sukenik, AJA, 1947, ossuary 8; DF p.170, fig. 39). Sometimes the small, scratched crosses are

close to a name. The swathes of thick red paint are also to be found on PAM 37.1145 (my fig. 200) and on ossuaries at St. Anne's (back of my fig. 181) and the Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne (back of my fig. 190) in Jerusalem. Such signs may have had some apotropaic significance for the Jews. As to this there can be at least two views:

1. that they had a distinctive meaning for the Jews, marking those under the protection of Yahweh. In this case we can connect them with the Taw of chapter 9 in Ezekiel, and with B. T. Shabbat 45, which reads "Go and mark the foreheads of the Just with a Taw of ink that the angels of destruction may not overpower them". (E. Dinkler in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1951, pp.148-172: "Zur Geschichte des Kreuzsymbols")
2. that they were "... magical marks of protection, used by the Jews, to be sure, but in no sense distinctive of Jews, and no more especially important than the many other marks which similarly had protective value". (JS, Vol. I, p.132)

Pottery found in the tombs with ossuaries is said to stretch over the first three centuries of our era. The list of finds is the work of Bagatti, and the interpretation is also his. However it is surprising to find that Bagatti has made no attempt to use critical judgement in attaching a different value to homogeneous and non-homogeneous groups of pottery, and also has made no attempt to distinguish the special nature of historical conditions at Jerusalem itself, as opposed (especially) to Galilee and the Plain of

Esdraelon. The finds at Gezer and Tell en-Nasbeh are with non-homogeneous or disturbed pottery groups; the finds at Galilean centres like el-Jish and Huqoq are with definite second or third century pottery; the finds at Jerusalem are from tombs with homogeneous pottery of the Herodian group and slightly earlier (overlapping) late Hellenistic spindle-bottles and lamp-forms. The significant basis for interpretation of the ossuary graffiti - which are on ossuaries FROM JERUSALEM AND OUTLYING VILLAGES - is therefore not the confused picture at Gezer and Tell en-Nasbeh, nor the late finds in Galilee, but the distinctive pottery forms of the Herodian group and the highly important fact that these can be closely dated - especially since the excavations of Khirbet Qumran - to the period 40 BC - AD 70 (with a possible extension to AD 135, the 2nd Revolt). This dating agrees also with the palaeographic interpretations of Milik and Cross, with our knowledge of burial forms and their dates at Jerusalem, and above all the fact that we know that there was a cultural break at this time, since the Jews were expelled from Jerusalem and their centre shifted to Galilee. We are not surprised, then, to find the use of ossuaries continuing in Galilee through the 2nd c AD; the practice migrated thither in force from Jerusalem. It is even to be expected that Jews returning to Jerusalem in the 3rd c AD should re-import their old funerary practices, as is shown by one find only - that at Ramat Rahel. A far more detailed account of the pottery, palaeography and burial-forms is given in my Parts III

and IV. These parts may be regarded as refutations in depth and in detail of the interpretations of Testa and Bagatti.

Another argument used in SJC and EC is that the names of the ossuary onomasticon are in some way distinctively found in the New Testament, as opposed to all other sources, and that this gives them a Christian as opposed to Jewish flavour. This is denied by de Vaux in his review of DF. In fact the tables given by Testa show that many of the names are found in the Old Testament, Septuagint, Josephus and the Murabba'at documents. Nothing more can be shown but that they are essentially Jewish. Jews and Christians of the 1st c AD in Jerusalem had the same names in common, not diverging sets of nomenclature; the Christians of Jerusalem - the 'Nazarenes' - were only just emerging from a fully Jewish environment. In fact Testa himself admits this:

"Contro di cui non si puo opporre che questa onomastica era comune all'ambiente giudaico perche se cio fu vero per la prima generazione nata nel Giudaismo e poi convertita, e per i nomi derivati dal V.T. comuni alle due confessioni".

Since the ossuaries are to be dated between 40 BC and AD 70 (135) distinctions in nomenclature which emerge in later Christian and Rabbinic literature are irrelevant.

The most recent argument - a point made by Avi-Yonah and taken up by Bagatti EC - is that there are proselytes mentioned

on the ossuaries who have Jewish names. For the proselytes mentioned on ossuaries see my Part I,iii,p.74. The conclusion drawn from this is that these proselytes must be people turned from not to orthodox Judaism; in fact, Jews converted to a Christian profession. But this conclusion does not follow inevitably. It is equally possible that Greeks who turned to Judaism assumed Jewish names as the seal of their new faith. Indeed there is even some evidence that these proselytes were not Jews by race - for instance 'Judah the proselyte' of my inscription 140 was the son of 'Laganion', 'Judan the proselyte' of 186 is from Tyre, and Diogenes the proselyte of 193 not only retains his Greek name, but also has a father with a Greek name. It seems reasonable to suppose that these were not Jewish. Of 'Shalom' and 'Maria' in 40 and 203 we know that the former came from Doliche; again an indication that she was not a Jewess.

A more sensible approach to the whole question is that some of the ossuaries may be Christian. It seems reasonable to expect that before any great bitterness grew up between Jew and Christian in the 1st century AD all continued to be buried in a common family tomb at Jerusalem. Hebrew names between AD 33 and 135 might belong to Jews who had become Christians. These far milder arguments are used by Bagatti DF pp.166-182. In tomb 79 at 'Dominus flevit' he suggests that the combined occurrence of names of N.T. type, of the tau or cross and of the abbreviation chi rho

must convince us that the tomb was that of Christians. The significance of the names and of the tau I have already dealt with. Bagatti overstates his case even with regard to what he calls the Constantinian monogram and what Testa calls the chrismon - that is the abbreviation formed by X and superimposed P. This abbreviation used in a Christian sense is rarely attested before the 4th century AD, and it had many other meanings. Those given by Avi-Yonah AGI include chreios, chresimos, chronos, chrisos and chilias. At Pompeii it is found on jars, where it could hardly be other than a mark of content, factory or ownership (RB, 1959, pp.299-301). It could, then, mean a variety of things on the DF ossuary. The most that can be said is that the combination of place, date, names and monogram may indicate Christian burials, but there is no way in which this can be decisively shown. The overall context of the tombs is Jewish, not Christian.

THE SARCOPHAGI

INTRODUCTION

These are few in number compared with the ossuaries, and are carved in relief with the use of rule, compasses and chisel. They have been found in only a few tombs; obviously only the most wealthy could afford to pay for the time and workmanship involved in carving them. However they do not represent a distinct and separate tradition from the ossuaries; for ossuaries are found in the same tombs.

The earliest finds were made at the Tomb of Helena, where both sarcophagi and ossuaries were found - the sarcophagus of Queen Helena (fig. 201), a sarcophagus with a finely decorated, hump-backed lid (fig. 202), a lid fragment (fig. 203) and other fragments of lids and sarcophagi (fig. 204). In addition a sarcophagus which was not found in the tomb, but was in use nearby, is sensibly assigned to it, since this tomb was already robbed but no other tombs with sarcophagi were known (fig. 205). The ossuaries from the tomb were very ordinary (e.g., fig. 206). These finds are now in the Louvre. The date of the tomb and its contents, c AD 60, is well established on grounds discussed in Part II,iv of this work.

An unusual tomb which can now be assigned to some members of the Herodian dynasty was explored by Schick in 1891, and later by Macalister. It stands on the hill called Nicophorieh, a possession of the Greek Patriarchate West of the Old City of Jerusalem. From this tomb came ossuaries and sarcophagi, which were empty - two complete sarcophagi, a broken lid and other fragments (figs. 207 and 208). The tomb is described in Part II, iii of this work.

In the next half century little more was found apart from a plain and uninscribed sarcophagus from the tomb of the sons of Nikanor, the wealthy Alexandrian who had gates made for the Herodian Temple (PEQ, 1903, p.330). Only in the last twenty or so years have additions been made to the numbers of decorated sarcophagi. At the Sanhedriyyeh group of tombs Jotham-Rothschild discovered the plain lid of a sarcophagus (PEQ, 1952, p.31, fig.4), and in tomb no. 7 of this group not the usual movable sarcophagus, but the face of an arcosolium carved out as the side of a sarcophagus and adorned with rosettes ("Short Guide to .. Sanhedriyya", 1956, pl. VII, 2; here fig. 209); this was matched by a simpler counterpart along the adjacent side of the same chamber. The full publication of sarcophagus fragments - so judged because of their thickness - found in these tombs was left to Rahmani (Atiqot, III, 1961, pl. XIII, 1); the fragments represent an ornament of plain, flat discs or paterae in relief as was found on the sarcophagus of Queen Helena.

In 1958 excavations of a Jewish cemetery on Franciscan property at "Dominus flevit" on the slope of the Mount of Olives were published by Bagatti with a short list of sarcophagi - a catalogue of seven, as opposed to 122 ossuaries or fragments of ossuaries. In fact, three only qualify to take an adult corpse - Bagatti's numbers 3, 4 and 90 on DF pp.46 and 56, being respectively about five feet, over eight feet and about six feet in length (no. 3 is my fig. 210). Bagatti's no. 6 is an undecorated ossuary of hard limestone; his no. 5 is an ossuary of hard limestone with flat discs in relief, like the fragments from Sanhedriyye and the sarcophagus of Queen Helena; no. 7 is a lid fragment. Nos. 1 and 2 qualify as large ossuaries or small sarcophagi, are of hard limestone and are ornately decorated in relief (my figs. 211, 212).

I am also including in this section a group of very similar ossuaries of hard limestone with simple decoration in relief (figs. 213-215) and a small but heavy ossuary in hard limestone, which is ornately decorated in relief on three faces (fig. 216).

All of the ossuaries and sarcophagi mentioned so far are from around Jerusalem itself. Avi-Yonah has published a sarcophagus from Kufeir in Galilee which looks to me to be Jewish workmanship of this period (QDAP, 1950, pl.XIX, 7; here fig. 217).

A few other observations are necessary. Two more ossuaries of the type of my figs. 213-215 were recently published by Rahmani (Atiqot, III, 1961, pl. XVI, 1 and 2; from a tomb in Rehov Ruppin, Jerusalem) and there is another from Jerusalem in the Jordanian museum at Amman as well as one on display in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. Of interest are some fragments published in 1913 by Germer-Durand (RB, 1913, pp. 241-242 and pl. XI, XII) - one like those just mentioned, one of a rosette in relief within a leafy garland. Judging from the closeness of the motifs these are large ossuaries. They were found at the site of the church of St. Peter in Gallicantu, Jerusalem.

CATALOGUE OF SARCOPHAGI with their ORNAMENT ANALYSED

1. The sarcophagus with the inscription of Queen Zaddah (Helena) in Aramaic and Hebrew. The lid was sealed when the sarcophagus was found by de Saulcy; it still contained the intact skeleton with the hands crossed over the pubis. It has an unadorned, gabled lid. On the main face is a sunken panel adorned by two flat, raised discs or paterae; the same motif is repeated at the ends. (fig. 201) See Introduction I,v,1 and I,v,2 also.
2. Lip adorned with a cyma. Hump-backed lid, charged with ornament - scrolls which enclose various types of leaves and fruit, the Greek laurel-trefoil with berries in stripe. The scrolls emerge from a shrunken acanthus-cup, and wind in strips around the edge and along the centre of the lid, enclosing various naturalistic blooms, leaves and fruits. They encircle oblong fields with the laurel-trefoil in double strips, and enclosed by rope-ornament. One can recognise oak leaves and acorns, vine leaves and grapes, rosettes, ivy leaves, fleurs-de-lys (which Goodenough calls lotus), pomegranates, citrons (the local ethrogs), dates, olives, figs, cones, almonds and leaf-sprays of a stylised acanthus. On the end of the lid is a stylised leaf-cup with fleurs-de-lys. The whole affair is crammed with as much local fruit as possible and in naturalistic form, but coupled with the stylised Greek vine-scroll, acanthus-cup and sprays and laurel-trefoil with berries. (fig. 202)

3. Another lid. The style is much more cold and formal and within sunken panels framed by the cyma. Small rosettes, a patera, fleurs-de-lys; some of the rosettes rather like buttons. (fig. 203)

4. Fragment of another hump-backed lid from this tomb - plain, but with framing cyma and plate-band. (fig. 204)

5. Sarcophagus assigned to the same tomb. Five large rosettes on the face, the central one composed of an inner rosette surrounded by eight fleurs-de-lys. The others are plainer and in matching pairs. A corresponding arrangement adorns the lid. On the face small paterae occupy the spandrels. All the adornment of lid, face and ends is within cyma frames. At one end is a rosette within a garland. (fig. 205)

6. A formal and cold treatment of the acanthus-cup and scroll motif with rosettes in the loops; the end rosettes have darts between the points. The style is closest to no. 3. (fig. 207)

7. Fragments of lid from the same tomb as no. 6, but in the chip-cut style in relief - stylised, but with the details more realistically rendered, rather like no. 2. From the acanthus-cup emerge the loops of the scroll, enclosing various leaves and fruits, including acanthus-sprays, pomegranate, ethrog and what look to me like almond and oak-apple. (fig. 208)

8. The arcosolium sarcophagus with three rosettes in relief within a sunken panel framed by the cyma. The central rosette is a fine, developed example of the chip-cut technique - sprays of acanthus, forming a ring of eyelets at the base, very similar to fig. 94 (ossuary no. 93). (fig. 209)
9. A flat, raised panel is left on the faces of the body. The lid is adorned with patterns of small myrtle leaves, standing out in low relief and with flat surfaces. An attractive and lively motif. (fig. 210)
10. On the lid a stylised scroll ending in fleurs-de-lys tips. Devoid of life, but in the chip-carved technique. Contrast the technique of no. 6, which is more classicising. (fig. 211)
11. On one side of the hump-backed lid is a vine-stock in scroll form; in the loops of the scroll are vine-leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes (fig. 212e). The vine motif is repeated on the main face of the coffin - stock, leaf, tendrils, grapes - in two matching patterns, executed fairly freely, in a low-relief background to the three main motifs, which stand out in high relief. Of these the central one is a sheaf of leaves and fruits - pomegranates or fruiting poppy-heads, cones or artichokes (which were native to North Africa), bunches of grapes and cucumbers (native to Asia; cultivated in Mediterranean countries in ancient times). The motif on the left is a rosette with berries in the

leaves, encircled by sheafs of stylised palm and sprays of acanthus, which alternate with ethrogs and cones or artichokes. The rosette is geometric, the rest more naturalistic. The motif on the right has its geometric form around an inner medly of fruits and leaves - a plain, shrunken, trilobate cup of leaves, oak-leaf, acorn, pomegranate, almond - and an encircling rope motif. Here the geometric form is the Greek egg-and-dart, worked in sophisticated form. (fig. 212a) On the reverse face of the sarcophagus are three rosettes in plastic relief - the centre one is composed of four attractive acanthus-sprays with the usual eyelets between them; the left-hand one is a circle of heart-shaped leaves interspersed with thin, geometric strips like small berries in rows; the leaves are occupied by smaller leaves or fruit; the right-hand rosette is occupied by berries of various sizes and has an inner whirl form (figs. 212b, 212f). One short face of the sarcophagus has a garland composed of tight eyelets and with a knot and ivy leaf; the other has a leaf-garland with small fruits at the end of the central stalks; within the garland is a whirl-rosette with fruits which might be bananas or cucumbers and grapes or large berries or oak-apples. Above this motif - on one end of the lid - is a form made up of stylised leaf-cups and two detached almonds (figs. 212g, 212h). On the opposite face of the lid to that already described are two long panels separated by a rope strip. Each is occupied by a tendril-scroll, one of which emerges from a debased leaf-cup, the other from a thick stock. The latter has

its loops occupied by ivy leaves and berries. The form emerging from the leaf-cup is more interesting and more complex, comparable with ornament on no. 2 - cone or artichoke, berries, ivy leaves, bunches of bananas, oak leaves and acorn, pomegranate with leaves, cone or artichoke, palm-spray and ethrog (figs. 212c, 212d). All of the motifs on this sarcophagus are within sunken panels which are framed by the Greek cyma.

Note too that no. 90 in Bagatti's list of ossuaries from 'Dominus flevit' is a sarcophagus over six feet long. The upper lip is adorned with the Greek egg-and-dart.

12. Large ossuary of hard limestone decorated with raised and sunken panels and - at the ends - with two rosettes in relief. Note that the chip-carved technique is not used for these rosettes. The sunken panels on the lid are framed by the cyma. (fig. 213)

13. Large ossuary of hard limestone adorned with rosettes in a sunken panel, and with a very fine, hump-backed lid. (fig. 214)

14. Very similar to nos. 12, 13. Raised panels along the sides of body and lid. At the ends a double patera and a formal leaf-and-tendrill motif. (fig. 215)

15. A small ossuary in hard limestone, carved in relief. Ornament within a cyma frame on one side and at both ends. On the long face within an additional frame of berries or beads is an

attractive central fleuron which sends out tendrils on either side. The tendrils encircle attractive rosette forms. At one of the ends is an unusual rosette form. At the other end is a garland of tight eyelets with a leafy knot. (fig. 216)

16. Sarcophagus from Kufeir. A tight lacework of leaves encloses six rings in a continuous row. Within the rings are rosettes and leaf-clusters. (fig. 217)

THE STYLE OF THE OSSUARIES AND SARCOPHAGI

Both the Tomb of the Herods at the Nicophorieh and the Tomb of Helena, North of the Damascus Gate, held sarcophagi in two distinct styles. The examples listed as nos. 3 and 6 in my short catalogue (figs. 203 and 207) were distinct of organic life, coldly formal in a classical spirit or the spirit of the Neo-Attic classicising vogue at the end of the first century before our era (see Part X). But no. 7 shows a native technique which was not used by the Greeks - chip-carving (Kerbschnitt). This is the natural technique for wood, and in fact suits the soft, local Jerusalemite limestone equally well. It was also in limited use at Palmyra, and - to my mind at a later date - in the stucco of the palaces at Assur and Hatra in the Parthian period (before AD 120). Classical technique moulds the surface in plastic relief; chip-carving works down from a flat plane. One produces volume, the other shadow. It is this effect - the contrast of abrupt transition from light to shadow - which is sought after on most of the decorated ossuaries and tomb-facades of Jerusalem in the Herodian period, and on some of the sarcophagi. On the sarcophagi and tombs the method is to chisel back from a flat surface which remains in relief, and is perhaps to that extent influenced by Greco-Roman tradition; on the ossuaries the chisel cuts its motifs straight into the flat plane of the face.

The chip-cut style concentrated its devices upon producing geometric leaf-forms in a long gouge with opposing facets (e.g., figs. 10, 12, 17, 91, 93, 94, 97, 152, 170). Its concern is not to reproduce the plastic volume of nature, but to employ light to advantage. On some ossuaries (figs. 181-197) a simpler and more primitive technique of lightly scratched outlines is used; the forms are not carved out. Yet another style, equally unclassical and Oriental in spirit, appears on the lid of sarcophagus no. 11. This style was noticed by Seyrig on the earliest fragments from the Temple of Bel at Palmyra. It is to cut the outline of the motif straight back on the vertical, and then to work the face of the motif lightly and without body in a flat plane (fig. 212e). It must be emphasised that these native techniques, still preferred by the Jerusalemite craftsman of the Herodian period, are completely alien to the interests of Greek art, which concentrated its energies on moulded surfaces. Very occasionally the Jewish craftsman favours the Greek form. For instance, the central rosette of one face of sarcophagus 11 (fig. 212b) has its tips curled outwards from the plane of the rest of the work, and moulded depth is given to the petals of the two rosettes on the long face of the ossuary of fig. 216.

The chip-carved style has varying degrees of sumptuousness. The plainest of the decorated ossuaries are adorned simply by two geometric rosettes of six points and a zig-zag frame, a neat but

banal adornment in a formal pattern. But for the hand which could dip further into its pockets the Jerusalemite craftsman was able to move further towards fulfilling his own aesthetic penchant. We may take as our examples my ossuaries nos. 17, 19, 52, 92, 93, 135, 136 (figs. 18, 20, 53, 93, 94, 136, 137); the ossuary decorated in the sarcophagus style (my sarcophagus no. 14; fig. 216); and sarcophagus lid no. 7 (fig. 208) and sarcophagus no. 11. These are some of the most pleasing products of the ossuary art; here we can feel that the craftsman in stone has designed expensive products which satisfy his own aesthetic urge. A certain feeling of richness - totally opposed, we may note, to the classical urge towards balance and restraint - comes across in various ways. One of these is that the available space is filled with ornament as far as is possible. To this end the neat, geometric roundel is much favoured on the ossuaries for its usefulness in filling odd squinches (figs. 18, 53, 135-137); one artist has even gone so far as to place two roundels inside his representation of a cup, because it left too much blank surface unfilled. Another device which placates this horror vacui is the doubling or filling in of the points of rosettes (figs. 18, 53) or the addition of points at the perimeter (fig. 137). Part of the same tendency - and we shall see it also on the tomb facades - is to create a frame and to fill it absolutely. A striking instance of this is no. 93 (fig. 94); here the acanthus-sprays cover the whole surface within their rings, the attractive fleuron fills the centre-panel, and a

continuous lozenge fully occupies the border. This desire to fill space also overcomes any sense of real proportions. Thus the column of no. 17 (fig. 18) is squat and wide, and far from any Greek canon of proportions member to member. It is designed not to represent the column as it appears to the eye, but to fill the space between the two rosettes. Richness of effect is also achieved by elaborating the motif which fills any given space - this applies to roundels and above all to rosettes. The ossuary of fig. 218 (which is the front face of ossuary no. 54, fig. 55), is elaborated by continuous lozenge-rings; some rosettes become endless, interlocked patterns (figs. 5, 73, 116, 133, 137) or the points have two radii (fig. 53) or a whirl-rosette is carved around an attractive, inner device (fig. 97). In one case richness is given by the two carved borders of a double rosette form (fig. 127), in another by angular carving (fig. 168). In the group of ossuaries which are decorated by the technique of incised outlines the same desire to fill spaces can be demonstrated. Almost the whole surface is covered by various purely geometric motifs and by light zig-zags (figs. 181-183, 190).

These various geometric effects, achieved within compass and rule outlines, give a clarity and neatness even to the most crowded design. But ossuary 19 (fig. 20) moves towards a surface which, though it displays great virtuosity and the same horror vacui, is beginning to become confused to the eye, albeit that

the plant fantasies created here are in the form of simple patterns. All in all the conceptual approach of the artist takes natural shapes, confines them, patterns them and gives a rich effect through attention to detail and by filling the available surface.

This concentration of the ossuary tradition on making forms geometric - a concentration extended to various plant forms on the ossuaries - shows that the native aesthetic which it draws upon is still at a point long since passed by the Greeks; the Greek geometric period is pre-classical. Another contemporary factor which alienated the mind of the Jewish craftsman from availing himself of the brilliant spirit of Greek achievements in the arts of stone was the prohibition in the Pentateuch against the representation of any living thing, which was interpreted rigidly at Jerusalem in this period. Representations of animals and men were excluded from Jewish art. This meant, for instance, that the Jerusalemite craftsman, even had he so wished, could not use the mythological and narrative motifs which adorned Greek sarcophagi like the famous Hellenistic Sidonian group. His selection was from an inanimate repertoire - notably architecture, flora and geometric forms; and it is the last which dominate. With a plant-form the tendency was constantly to make it more stylised, more patterned, more schematic, more geometric - until sometimes the original identity of the motif is lost. Thus with some of the ossuary motifs

classified in my catalogue as 'stylised trees' one cannot say whether the transformed motif any longer represents a tree even in the mind of the craftsman. The group of ossuaries nos. 72-83 - to which we may add another unpublished example (fig. 219) - shows how an already stylised form (fig. 73) is given even more geometric shape (figs. 81-84, 219) or reduced to such a schema (figs. 75-79) that its meaning is completely lost, and it becomes reinterpreted by another craftsman (fig. 80) as a dagger. The dagger 'reading in' was pointed out by Rahmani (Atiqot, II, 1959, pp.188-189).

Another way of achieving richness of effect is to overwhelm with a vista of leaves and fruits which are in fact never seen together in nature. This occurs in a limited way on some ossuaries (nos. 19, 71, 92) but receives its full treatment on the most ornate of the sarcophagi (figs. 208, 212). At the same time the plants are so stylised that their fruits defy the laws of gravity (fig. 212e) or form a set motif far removed from nature (ibid. grapes in three clusters). All of this applies particularly to the sarcophagi. In some cases the desire to fill the whole surface with ornament, fulfilled in a technique combining low relief and the effects of the chip-carving style, produces an overwhelming impression of sumptuousness and of confusion. This is so with some tomb-facades, but also with sarcophagi nos. 2, 7 and 11. A few Greek formal elements are used (the scroll emerging from a leaf-cup (debased), egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel, acanthus-

leaves, laurel-trefoil with three berries) but the main urge is to fill every curl of the scroll with local forms of fruit and leaf - ivy, oak, palm, vine, tendrils, ethrogim (sorts of small, hard citrons), pomegranates, grapes, dates, bananas, berries, olives, figs, and perhaps artichoke and cucumber. On the lid of sarcophagus no. 2 the motifs are beginning to assume the sort of formal aspect - especially the small strips of laurel-trefoils within narrow, rope-framed panels - and to move towards the style of the lead sarcophagi, produced in Palestine and Phoenicia from the mid 2nd century AD.

These ornate sarcophagi, as well as the ossuaries, are a distinctive product of Jewish Palestinian small arts of the Herodian period up to the First Revolt. Their creation, of course, springs from the fact that Greek sarcophagi were being produced in or imported into the strongly hellenised cities of the Palestinian coast and Decapolis. In this respect they are a product of Greek influence and betray the hellenised tastes of the most wealthy and sophisticated set in Jerusalemite society. It is significant that we can identify two of the tombs from which they come as those of members of the Herodian dynasty and of the family of the convert to Judaism, Helena, Queen of Adiabene. Another sarcophagus (admittedly plain) comes from the tomb of the sons of the wealthy and devout Alexandrian, Nikanor. But the usual Jewish burial-chest, the ossuary, takes its form from the specifically Jewish practice of re-burying the bones. It is possible - the connections

between the Jewish community of Alexandria and Jerusalem were undoubtedly strong - that the purely ornamental decor (i.e., not mythological or narrative) of Hellenistic, Egypto-Macedonian, wooden coffins (see Watzinger, "Griechischer Holzsarkophag aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen", espy. pp.33f) influenced ossuary decor. The influences which worked to produce the selection of motifs that is found on the ossuaries are discussed more fully in Part X of this thesis. The forms on the sarcophagi, both motifs and style, are closely connected with contemporary Jerusalemite tomb-facades; I believe that the development of these motifs can be convincingly traced on these tombs, and that the sarcophagi (e.g., nos. 6 and 7 from the Tomb of the Herods, and no. 2 from the Tomb of Helena) fit neatly into this development. Both tomb-facades and sarcophagi draw their motifs from contemporary Greek plant-decor in the first instance. In all this the Greek influence, such as it is, comes from late Hellenistic Alexandria and the littoral cities of Palestine and Phoenicia (infra Part X). But the local Jewish craftsmen developed the motifs that they borrowed into a new creation, which was specifically theirs (infra Part X).

Even when producing a distinctively Greek form, like the Corinthian or Ionic column (ossuaries nos. 1-19) the Jewish artist displayed no interest in its proportions or aesthetic theory. The column becomes a squat shape with a very large base -

a sort of stylobate - and a schematic capital (espy. figs. 3, 4, 9, 12, 13, 18) or it is converted into a phantasy combined with plant-forms (figs. 5, 6, 7, 10, 11). Only nos. 1 (fig. 2) and 14 (fig. 15) are exceptions to this. No. 1 presents the mouldings of a Hellenistic, Ionic base faithfully, and reproduces the proportions of the column in a more balanced fashion. No. 14 is the only example on which columns stand in a row, supporting an architrave at the upper rim of the ossuary. This is how the column motif was used on Greek and Roman sarcophagi. It is interesting to compare ossuary 14 with a very sophisticated product of Greek expertise - the 'Mourning Women' sarcophagus from Sidon, which represents the columns in moulded relief (high relief).

It seems doubtful that very much on the Jewish sarcophagi and ossuaries can be traced directly to the influence of Greek or Roman sarcophagi, which were at this time occupied by narrative or mythological scenes, or garlands suspended from bukrania. The column motif of ossuary 14 is untypical, as is the command of Greek displayed by the inscription of the same ossuary (inscription 156 in Part I, iii) and the heart-and-dart border on its upper rim. A few Greek mouldings - cyma, bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart - occur occasionally (ossuaries figs. 37, 50, 114, 152, 174; sarcophagi figs. 202, 203, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 216) and so does the Oriental rope moulding. A few ossuaries reproduce ring-handles in relief (figs. 46, 62, 124). It is also possible, as Rahmani suggests, that the entry motif is connected with the

entry to Hades which occurs on some Greek and Roman mythological sarcophagi (for the development of this argument see Eretz-Yisrael, Sukenik Volume, 1967, Hebrew, pp.188-191). On the sarcophagi the influence of the Hellenistic acanthus-cup (which occurs on one ossuary; fig. 93) and tendril-scroll (which is not found on any ossuary) and even of acanthus leaf-forms is strong; but the cup and scrolls are often debased forms, a convenient frame for the motifs of local flora on which the craftsman's real love is lavished. An exception is the 'Neo-Attic' sarcophagus, no. 6; also sarcophagus lid no. 7, where the acanthus-cup is treated largely, as on tomb facades. These are both from the Nicophorieh tomb.

INTERPRETATION OF OSSUARY MOTIFS

The ossuaries have irresistibly drawn the attention of those scholars interested in establishing some system of symbolism from Palestinian material stretching over the first three centuries of our era (Bagatti, Testa; see Part I,iv). They also drew the attention of E. R. Goodenough, who assimilated them to a whole mass of material which was drawn from a period of five or six centuries, from the whole Mediterranean world and from much that could not be dated or was dubiously Jewish. Goodenough was concerned to establish the existence of a mystical Jewish sect. He presents his arguments for his methodology of symbolic interpretation in JS, Vol. IV, pp.3-46. Significant features are as follows. Jewish decor of the Roman period consists of a few symbolic motifs drawn from contemporary paganism, all of which - and even the zig-zags, roundels and rosettes of the ossuaries - are living symbols. They must be regarded as symbolic in Jewish decor because:

- a) they are live symbols in contemporary paganism.
- b) their number is limited.
- c) they are often crudely scratched or roughly done - anything but decorative.
- d) they are found alongside symbolic Jewish motifs.

But the odd assertion by which he seeks to establish his case is that one must combine psychological insights - he mentions the psychologies of Freud and Jung - with the usual philological and archaeological disciplines and 'emotional negativism' of the historian.

In these remarks he seems to have lost sight of his purpose, which is surely to try to establish whether the motifs are conscious and public symbols. We are not concerned to show that a particular motif, whatever the craftsman consciously regards it as, is in fact the assertion of some deep-felt urge of the subconscious psyche; we simply want to know whether a given motif is ornamental only, or was meaningful to the artists and his clients in some other way also. In fact it seems to me that we would be justified in calling Goodenough's approach 'emotional positivism' or 'reading in' (to borrow a term from art). Of the arguments mentioned above none seems at all convincing as regards the ossuary decor:

- a) gives us no hint as to the Jewish attitude to the motifs used.
- b) is explained partly by the fact that religious prohibitions and the tools and materials used were confining, partly by the fact that Goodenough selects the motifs which he feels are important. The whole repertoire is, in fact, extensive within its limits (Part I,i,1-3). Moreover the vine and grapes - the

wine symbols to which Goodenough attaches such importance - never occur on the ossuaries; even on the sarcophagi the scroll used is the acanthus-scroll, which Goodenough fails to distinguish from the vine-scroll. Only on one side of the lid of sarcophagus 11 does the vine-scroll occur (fig. 212e).

c) does not apply to any of the formal elements of ossuary decor. The rosette, roundel, zig-zag etc. are never found crudely done. Admittedly the art of the ossuaries is not sophisticated, but it nevertheless represents the skills of the contemporary tradition, and is often neat and attractive, and sometimes impressive. However this argument is to a certain extent valid, and will be pursued in detail below.

d) none of the Jewish symbols (shophar, lulub, menorah, ethrog) are found on the ossuaries. The case is strong that these various objects assumed symbolic value - as tokens of the national hope and identity - only after the Temple was destroyed (AD 70) and the Jews dispersed from Jerusalem (AD 135). This point is further discussed in the section on coins (Part VIII).

The only evidence of positive value which we can use is that of the implications of the actual form and context of the motifs. Here one of Goodenough's points is of value. A rough or crude motif is hardly likely to be part of a formal repertoire of ornament, but probably has some meaning or value attached to it.

In the case of the ossuaries one can say that there are no indications that the various framing motifs, the roundels or the rosettes were symbolic - all of these are always presented as formal elements of the decor. Moreover the many variations in form of the rosette argue that it is purely ornamental; we would expect a symbol to have a reasonably fixed form. In any case all of these motifs can be explained as the natural, geometric products of the tools used - compasses, rule and chisel. The rosette, in particular, is found in most times and areas. It is worth quoting Watzinger on this point:

"The six-pointed rosette within a circle is especially favoured, and because of its frequent occurrence it has been interpreted as symbolic, although there is no literary evidence for such a conception as a Jewish symbol. Nor is it a question of the star of Ishtar, the form of which is different, or of a representation of the Sun, but rather of one of those primitive, world-wide motifs, arising from a simple compass-arc, and found in every primitive art irrespective of land or race."

('Denkmäler Palästinas, Vol.2, pp.75-6)

The motifs that do not belong to the formal repertoire are more likely to have some meaning without necessarily being in any abstruse sense symbolic. One of the oddities of the ossuary

decor is that rather crude plant motifs are often added to structural forms, especially columns (figs. 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 117). This may indicate a special significance of the motif. I find such an interpretation especially convincing in the case of fig. 19 where the column is converted to a pedimented structure adorned by plant-forms, and is accompanied by a long, free-hand palm-frond and other boughs, and by a cup or goblet. It is possible that the structure, the cup and the palm are all connected with the Jewish Temple and cult. The palm-branch was also a token of deliverance and jubilation (I Macc., 13, 51; Mt. 21, 8, 9; Mk. 11, 8, 9; Jn. 12, 12-13).

A motif which has received considerable attention is that of ossuaries nos. 20-29. The representation of a single or double door within an arch or pediment or flat member supported by pillars and colonnettes has produced many interpretations. It should be pointed out that this does not resemble late representations of synagogues and Torah shrines, nor the chariot of the Capernaum synagogue, nor the structure on coins of the Second Revolt. It is not intended to represent a specific, exstant structure; its forms are too many and contradictory for this. It may be intended to convey that the ossuary is a shrine for the dead person, which is presumably also the purpose of the stonework of nos. 43-50 and no. 7. False masonry is also found represented in two tomb-chambers of the Herodian period - Khugharet Umm el-Anab

at Jerusalem and Deir ed-Derb in Samaria (Part II,viii and xi).

The cup (nos. 51-55; 18) is represented consistently in the same form. It may well be either part of the furniture of the Temple cult, or a token of redemption (the Cup of Salvation). Such a cup is represented with the menorah, the pillars of Yachin and Boaz and the Temple of Solomon on a Jewish gold glass of the 3rd-4th century of our era from the cemetery of St. Peter and Marcellinus ad duas lauros at Rome (Leclerq, "Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne, 1907, Vol. I, p.349).

In conclusion it seems likely that some motifs employed on the ossuaries are connected with the Temple-cult or Jewish ideas concerning the after-life. Such motifs indicate an absorption in Jewish cult and religious ideas, not in the form and aesthetic conceptions of Greek art. The two are to a great extent mutually exclusive.

PART TWO

This part of my work expands the corpus of material which must be the basis of my conclusions as to the extent of the impact of Greco-Roman forms on Jewish art in Palestine. The form and decor of the tombs at Jerusalem and in Samaria are added to the ossuaries and sarcophagi already presented in Part I. Introductions, bibliographies and some conclusions are included with those fascicles which seem to warrant them before the presentation of my general conclusions in Part X.

THE MONUMENTAL TOMBS OF THE KEDRON VALLEY

INTRODUCTION

The general aspect of this group of imposing rock-cut tombs and free-standing monuments is shown on fig. 220. On the extreme left in the foreground is the funereal monument known as 'Yad Abshalom', and popularly connected with Absalom. This stands in a court carved from the cliff. To one side of the monument and in the rear wall of its court is an interesting and ornate tomb-facade, popularly called the 'Tomb of Jehosaphat'. This entry leads back into a complex of chambers. Further to the right and still in the foreground of the photo, isolated high up in the cliff face, there was carved another tomb. This tomb, known popularly as the Retreat of the Apostles or of St. James has an inscription on the architrave of the porch stating that it belongs to the priestly line of Hezir. Alongside the portico is a small chamber. Behind the portico is another complex system of burial chambers. The tomb is entered by way of the porch, either by means of a shaft from above or through a tunneled out corridor from below. The corridor leads down to the court which surrounds the Pyramid on the extreme right of the photo, popularly known as the Pyramid of Zachariah.

The group has attracted a great deal of attention. Many lovingly produced publications on Jerusalem or the Holy Land expressed the fascination of travellers of the 18th and 19th centuries with the monuments. Almost all of the drawings of Cassas show how far the imagination could and did wander from what was actually seen (figs. 221-226). The photographs of Salzmann, taken only half a century later, bring us back to reality, but are too fuzzy and indistinct to be of much service now. It is with the observations of the learned French traveller de Vogüé that we have the starting-point towards an informed approach to the style of these monuments.

A clearance of the lower parts and some of the interior of the Monument of Absalom and its associated rock-cut tomb-system by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society in 1924 paved the way for more recent studies - notably those of Watzinger, Vincent and Avigad. Only with the publications of these three scholars - in 1935 and 1954 - are we coming towards a proper appreciation of the date and form of this group of structures. Above all the measurements, drawings and detailed descriptions presented by Avigad are indispensable to a study in this field. A clearance at the foot of the Pyramid of Zechariah by Stutchbury in 1960 adds the most recent advance in our knowledge.

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THE TOMB OF THE BENE HEZIR

The tomb (fig. 227) presents a distyle in antis facade with Doric frieze and cornice. The details of this are shown by my photographs (figs. 228-230) and by the drawings which Avigad has made of the profiles (fig. 235). Drawings of the facade as a whole have been published both by Vincent (fig. 233) and Avigad (fig. 234).

As is common in Palestine the shafts of the columns are not fluted. Though the shafts have no entasis, they do show a diminution from a lower diameter of .53m to .55m to an upper diameter of .48m (these figures and the following ones are those published by Avigad); and the proportion of lower diameter to height is 1:5.5, as in the Parthenon. Below its abacus the Doric capital has an echinus with a straight diagonal face above a cavetto necking instead of annulets (fig. 228; 235, 1 and 2). The capital of the left anta is not finished (fig. 235, 4), but that on the right has a cavetto, an angled face or straight diagonal, and then a high cavetto below the abacus. The same sequence of profiles recurs on the boldly projecting cornice (fig. 235, 1; 229, 230). The architrave is the plain Doric one, and as high as the frieze - in

fact slightly higher; it terminates in a taenia on which cylindrical guttae are placed rather carelessly in threes (not the more usual sixes) below the triglyphs of the frieze (fig. 230 centre). In accordance with the proper Greek tradition it is the triglyphs, and not the metopes, which are placed above the columns; at the ends diglyphs are set over the antae. The central intercolumniation is properly wider than the two side ones (which betray a slight discrepancy), and the use of only two triglyphs between the columns shows a restrained Hellenistic taste. All of which indicates a Hellenistic work of quite an early date with leanings towards Classical forms and proportions.

The faults in this rock-cut, provincial monument are not striking - disharmony of measurements, unfinished details, lack of some refinements (e.g., mutules on the soffit of the cornice dripstone; regulae) and the squat and wide shape of the triglyphs and metopes. Some of them may be put down to inexperience, others - like the three guttae under the triglyphs - to economy of effort.

From this analysis two striking facts emerge. The portico is clearly unique and distinctive among the Doric tombs of Jerusalem; and it most closely coincides in detail and balance

with local monuments (Marisa and Araq el-Emir) of the 2nd century BC. The most significant features which distinguish it from the other Jerusalemite tombs are:

- a) the high, plain architrave.
- b) the cylindrical guttae (all other Jerusalem guttae are conical).
- c) the plain metopes.

It is precisely these features which our portico shares with the Doric detail at Marisa and Araq el-Emir. In addition the straight line of the echinus is less decadent than the cavetto found on other tombs at Jerusalem.

The interior behind the porch is shown on fig. 236 - a central hall (A), three burial chambers with benches and kokhim (B, C, D) and the innermost chamber with arcosolia. Avigad suggests that the wide kokh is another indication of early date, pointing to a form not yet standardised by custom.

Another indication of date is the Hebrew inscription on the architrave of the porch, which lists those buried in the tomb, and their genealogies. According to the revised reading of Avigad's new facsimile of this we have:

zh qbr whnphsh shl'l'zr hnyh yw'zr yhwdh
 shm'wn ywhnn bny ywsph bn 'wbd ywsph w'l'zr
 bny hnyh khnym mbny hzyr

this is the tomb and the memorial of Eleazar,
 Haniah, Joezer, Judah, Simeon (and) John, sons
 of Joseph son of Obed; (and of) Joseph and
 Eleazar, sons of Haniah; priests of the family
 of the Line of Hezir

Vincent disputes 'Obed; he prefers to read 'Oreb. The inscription mentions two generations buried in the tomb — six brothers and the two sons of one of them. Avigad suggests that detailed palaeographic comparisons with the scrolls suggest that this inscription was carved in the first half of the 1st century BC; the two generations would take us back into the second century, which concurs with the interpretations of style.

Vincent prefers an even earlier date; and he makes much of the two entrances. The tomb was originally a shaft tomb, opening into a small chamber with benches beyond a vestibule. Later the vestibule is enlarged, adorned with a portico and made more pretentious. Within the tomb other chambers are added in an asymmetric system. This explains why the entry

to the tomb-porch from the cliff above (fig. 232) is a diagonal shaft, erupting high up into a rear angle of the wall and ceiling. The wealthy family who owned the tomb carved out for themselves the memorial mentioned in the inscription, which is the Pyramid of Zechariah, reached by a corridor from the porch of the tomb down into the court surrounding the pyramid. The height, width and direction of this corridor, we may note, are not at all regular (fig. 231).

Avigad's interpretation of the situation is completely different. He denies that the tomb was converted from an earlier form. The stepped descent which erupts upon wall and ceiling of the porch is to be explained by the fact that the masons miscalculated their measurements. The corridor which leads down from the opposite side of the porch to the court of the pyramid is too high and large to fit the proportions of the rest of the tomb. It may be argued that this is not from the time of the tomb, and that the Pyramid of Zachariah is not the nefesh referred to in the inscription, but rather the facade just to the left of the porch on the same platform (fig. 220; 233, 234). This facade is crowned by a flat platform which could have been the base for a built superstructure, perhaps of pyramidal form. Unfortunately modern tombstones prevent a proper clearance here. He suggests that

after the Doric tomb had ceased to be used and the inscription referring to the nefesh had been carved the family had the pyramid hewn, the corridor cut between the tomb porch and the pyramid, and a new tomb hewn out of the cliffs to the other side of the pyramid.

THE PYRAMID OF ZACHARIAH

My photos show the pyramid in its court (fig. 220), its main facade or West face (fig. 237) and details of the capitals and entablature of this face (figs. 238-242). In addition the angle of the South (side) face can be seen (figs. 242-243), and the badly worn bases on the West face (fig. 244). These photographs are supplemented by the drawings published by Vincent (fig. 245) and Avigad (fig. 246).

The basic form of the monument is that of a solid cube on a stepped crepidoma. Set upon this cube is a solid pyramid. The whole monument is entirely rock-cut, and the cliff has been cut back around it to provide a court surrounded on three sides by cliff as high as the pyramid itself, but open at the front. The cube of the monument is crowned by a roll-and-cavetto cornice, the high coping mouldings derived from Egyptian architecture.

In fact the whole form as it is so far described is non-

Greek, and clearly derives from a tomb-chamber of the pre-Hellenistic period further down the valley, now on the edge of the modern Arab suburb of Jerusalem called Silwan. This tomb-chamber, known as the 'Monument of Siloam' or 'The Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter', has the same Egyptian cornice (figs. 248, ^{246A}~~247~~) of roll and cavetto. In addition there are clear traces to the observant eye that it was once crowned by a pyramid. Photo 248 shows that the top, now flat, is surrounded by a smooth-cut lip, leaving the square-cut base from which a pyramidal top must rise. In addition there are some vestigial but clear remains along the inner line of the lip, where the rock presents a cut face rising at the diagonal angle of the pyramid. Unfortunately this does not show up in the photo; but there is no doubt in the matter. There are clear indications that the tomb is early in date. In form its burial arrangements belong to a localised group, mostly hypogean, with benches and gabled ceilings. And the remains of an inscription on it present a distinctive form of the letter resh which has been compared by Avigad with that of the Siloam inscription of the 7th century BC; two other inscriptions of about the same date (7th-6th century BC) from tombs in the locality have been published by Avigad (IEJ, 1953, pp.137-152; *ibid.*, 1955, pp.163-166). In brief, there is no doubt that this Monument of Siloam pre-dates the Pyramid of Zachariah,

and presents a local tradition which gives its basic stamp to our Hellenistic pyramid.

The Pyramid of Zachariah obtains its distinctive form from the addition of engaged, rock-cut, Hellenistic Ionic forms against the side of its solid cube (photos 237, 238-242; drawings 245-246). The cornice and pyramid retain their Egyptian form unimpaired. The Hellenistic additions are complete on the West face, and well preserved apart from the badly worn bases. On the South (side) face they were left incomplete in detail (figs. 243, 242). Nor is this the only sign that the work was not finished. Stutchbury points out that the fourth step of the stylobate only appears on the West and South sides. But these small incompletenesses do not suggest to me that the work was interrupted, but that the requirements of the client whom the architect served were satisfied by the concentration of effort and virtuosity on the face which passers-by would see. This is reminiscent of the fact that the rear face of one of the sarcophagi from the Tomb of the Herods is left rough, because it was designed to be set against the tomb-wall, while at the same time the front face is carefully finished (see Part I, v). We must remember that we have to consider the pocket as well as the artistic tastes of the clients who were served by these skills.

The finished decor of the West (main) face of the Monument is as follows. Its distyle in antis arrangement presents two engaged Ionic half-columns between antae; and in addition quarter-columns are attached to the antae (which would correspond to free-standing half columns engaged with pillars). The shafts of the half-columns have no entasis, but present a diminution which is even applied to their projection from the cube-face. This point corresponds to what we found at the portico of the Bene Hezir. The Ionic capitals of the half-columns and quarter-columns are of the fine Hellenistic form associated with Hermogenes (best seen on photos 238, 240). The line of the bolster is a straight canal between the volutes (fig. 242; 245-246) and is crowned by a simple cavetto abacus. The capitals are joined to their shafts by plain astragals. The echinus or bolster of the capital is carved with egg-and-dart of good form. The darts of the two capitals at the left side have normal form (photos 238, 240); but the points of the darts of the right-hand capitals have arrowed heads, which is well-known in Hellenistic work. Palmettes join the bolster to the volutes; the projection of the bolster is best seen on photo 240. The shafts of the columns are fluted only in a small area just below the capitals - just sufficient to show that the forms used are features of good Ionic-rounded heads and fillets between the flutes as

opposed to the Doric arris. The capitals of the antae are of the same height as those of the columns, and present Lesbian cyma, thin plate-bands, a slight astragal and a high, cavetto abacus. Below these mouldings is a strip of four small, plain paterae of moulded form with bosses at the centre; at the South face these were not carved out (fig. 243). The bases are so badly worn that no interpretation of them can be offered (fig. 244). The clearances by Stutchbury showed that the cube is set upon a crepidoma of four steps.

One must disagree with Avigad when he characterises the Pyramid as being in the mixed style of the late Hellenistic-early Roman decadence. The Greek order is pure Ionic, and of good Hellenistic form which inclines one to a date in the 2nd century BC. The only admixture is with the older, localised Egyptian tradition.

Avigad's theory that the nephesh referred to in the inscription of the Bene Hezir is the structure to the left of the portico (fig. 220) was followed by two suggestions. One was that the Pyramid is still to be connected with this family; the other was that a tomb must be looked for to be associated with it, since it is a solid monument. Stutchbury's clearances - produced some interesting new factors into the interpretation

of the situation - without, however, producing clear answers in support or refutation of the rival theories of Vincent and Avigad. He cleared a plain and irregularly cut chamber below the Pyramid (fig. 220). But this is too badly worked and too small to be associated with such a splendid monolith as the Pyramid; it must be of later date. He also cleared a very crude, distyle in antis facade in the cliff further South (fig. 220 foreground at right edge of photo). It is tempting to identify the small chamber at the foot of the monolith with the chamber drawn by Cassas on figs. 225 and 226. This is crowned by an arch, which is adorned by an acanthus cup (see above II,i,). But in fact the entry to Stutchbury's chamber has no such adornment. There is merely a crude and plain rectangular opening. Either the chamber drawn by Cassas is purely imaginative in spite of his description of it in the text (book 3, p.5) or it exists lower down the slope of the valley. Photograph 220 shows clearly that this area is covered by considerable quantities of earth, and that the footpath to Silwan village runs through it.

THE MONUMENT OF ABSALOM

This is the most interesting structure of a very interesting group. My photos show the facade (figs. 247, 248),

the North face (fig. 248), the upper members (figs. 249-252), the detail of capitals and entablature (figs. 253-254) and the form of the bases (fig. 255). In addition drawings published by Vincent and Avigad (figs. 256-258) are referred to. The lower parts of the monument are rock-cut and house a square burial-chamber; the upper parts are of cut stone. It is surrounded, like the Pyramid of Zachariah, by narrow passages and by the cliff on three sides. There is a large, irregular breach made by robbers or vandals in the main facade.

The rock-cut members are the high socle, the stylobate above it and the cube of rock which contains the burial-chamber. The form of the Hellenistic Greek members engaged in this cube is that of those engaged in the Pyramid of Zachariah, but modified by later taste. Once more the Ionic order is favoured, and the shafts present diminution without entasis, and are unfluted. As with the Pyramid the profiles of the Ionic capitals of the half-columns and quarter-columns are astragal, echinus and the cavetto abacus; palmettes join bolster and volutes; and the canalis between the volutes is a straight line. One difference is notable - that here the astragals are adorned with the bead-and-reel (photos 253, 254; drawing 258). The anta capitals also offer a slight elaboration upon the forms at the Pyramid - one more of the thin

plate-bands or fillets, and little palmettes between the paterae, which themselves have an inner ring (fig. 254; drawing 258). All of these features denote later or 'more decadent' taste than those of the Pyramid, a taste for adding ornament. Another feature of the same taste is the 1:7 ratio of the lower diameter of the column shafts to height. The bases are well preserved (fig. 255; 257, 3) and display forms significant for the question of dating. Above the plinth are torus, plate-band, cyma reversa, plate-band. It is the cyma reversa which is significant, as this is a Roman form which was probably not much used before the later part of the 1st century BC.

The entablature of the cube also elaborates upon the taste of the Pyramid of Zachariah. A Doric triglyph-and-metope frieze is set above a plain architrave, while the cornice remains the thick Egyptian roll and the high Egyptian cavetto or gorge, obviously derived here locally from the Pyramid and the Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter. The plain architrave ends in a taenia which has a regula and four conical guttae below each triglyph of the frieze (figs. 253, 254; 257,1). The conical form of the guttae is another indication of lateness, since it belongs to the late Hellenistic-early Roman world of forms. The metopes of the frieze are set over the columns, which is

not the usual practice of Greek Doric. On both these last two points contrast the portico of the Bene Hezir. But the architrave remains almost as high as the frieze, which is in contrast with the rest of the Jerusalemite tombs except that of the Bene Hezir. The metopes are not plain, but are adorned by a variety of unelaborate paterae. These features once more reflect taste which is later than the Doric portico of the Kedron Valley, though not a good deal later. The tendency is towards the more baroque. We have the union of Doric and Ionic, which became increasingly dear to Hellenistic taste; the preservation of forms derived ultimately from Egypt and strongly felt in the locality; the beginnings of the intrusion of Roman elements.

Above the abacus of the high Egyptian cavetto the rock-cut members of the monument end in an irregular line (fig. 247) and members built of large, cut stones begin. This was necessary because the cliff went no higher here. The built members are composed of eight courses of varying height. The topmost two are solid; the others leave an irregular hollow within. The three members so formed are a square attic, a drum and a cone with finial. The attic is a course of tall stones, crowned by a low coping course with a set of cornice mouldings - fillets, cavetto, cyma (photo 250; drawing 257,1a).

At the South West angle some of the stones are gone (fig. 247). The drum is composed of a tall lower course and a low upper course. The lower of the two courses was originally adorned by a cyma reversa base-moulding (fig. 257, lb), still in situ at the extreme left of photo 249 and in two places on photo 247. Elsewhere its absence has left a slightly recessed face on the lower part of the stones of this course, which is indicated on the photos by the horizontal cut below which the moulding fitted. The upper course of the drum has the same set of cornice mouldings at its base as those employed for the cornice of the square attic (figs. 249-251; drawings 257, lc like 257, la). At the crown of the same course is a rope torus. The cone is composed of two fairly high courses and then its tall and solid crowning block (figs. 247, 252); its line is that of a gentle inward curve, a fine form. This cone, like the drum, is terminated by a rope moulding, and then by a leaf finial (figs. 252; 256G, 257, 4 and 5). It is interesting that the leaves of this finial are of the same form as those of the Corinthian capitals at the Tomb of Helena and of some late 1st century AD Nabataean capitals at Suweida in the Hauran or modern Jebel Druze.

I have not seen the interior of the tomb, but rely for my knowledge of this on Vincent and Avigad. It is a small, square chamber, entered from high up in the rock-cut face of the

monument on the South face. The low entry is crowned by an arch in the lowest of the cut stone courses (fig. 247); from it steps lead down to the interior. The burial-arrangements are a small kokh and two arcosolia, on one of which a skeleton was found. The Lesbian cyma is employed as an epicranitis to the chamber (see Avigad, photo 62 on p.102). In the centre of the ceiling is a coffer decorated with a patera enclosing a sort of rosette and with four small discs in the squinches (ibid. fig. 63).

This monument, then, is a combination of tomb, Semitic nefesh or memorial-mark and Hellenistic Greek heroon. It is to the Hellenistic heroon that the cone-roof, derived from Asia Minor, belongs. This is not an isolated instance of its occurrence in Palestine; at Jerusalem Kon has shown that it was found at the Tomb of Helena, and it was used at Petra on the Khazneh and the monuments that imitate it. Avigad points out that the depression in the discus of the finial (fig. 257,4) implies an additional member as the pinnacle of the monument. Below the cone, the solid drum is an unusual member which demands explanation. The usual style of this type of monument is to have the cone roof set upon an entablature over an open, circular tholos which is supported by a ring of columns. Here would be the statues of the pagan shrine, as indeed we find them still at the Khazneh. Avigad suggests that this

form was rejected and transformed to avoid any suggestion of a pagan sanctuary. He interprets the transformation by the architect of the Monument as follows:

- a) the drum up to its set of cornice mouldings represents the high socle normal to the Hellenistic form.
- b) the open, columnar tholos is completely rejected and omitted.
- c) the upper course of the drum represents the entablature which would normally be carried by the rejected form.

The crux of this argument is that the upper course of the drum represents a separate member, and that the open tholos is not simply transformed, but completely rejected. That the upper course represents a separate member is indicated by the fact that it has its own base and coping mouldings.

Both for the question of dating and for the question of interpretation we should also note that the course interpreted as the high socle of the drum has base and cornice mouldings frequently used for Roman socles. Avigad concludes that such clear signs of Roman influence - especially the base cyma of the columns - indicate a date about the turn of the eras. But this cyma is in fact the only distinctively Roman detail. I am inclined to date it about forty years earlier for two reasons:

- a) the good Hellenistic style of the capitals

b) its undeniable association with the Tomb of Jehosaphat.
I believe that the style of the ornament of the tympanum of this tomb indicates a date about 50 BC.

THE TOMB OF JEHOSEPHAT

It is obvious that the tomb of Jehosaphat must be associated in conception and date with the Monument of Absalom, and is part of a common, unified plan. There are general indications of this - for instance that the tomb facade is to one side of the Monument, so that it can be seen. But it is possible to show that the tomb cannot be either earlier or later than the Monument:

1. It cannot be earlier, because it utilises the rock-wall of the court already created when the Monument was isolated from the cliff.
2. It must be contemporary with the hewing of the court of the Monument, because otherwise the rock-surface which provides the steps in front of it and also the framing-mouldings and pediment of its facade would have been cut away at that time.

The facade is framed by a Lesbian cyma between plate-bands (fig. 260). A cavetto and cyma are used to frame the sides of the pediment (fig. 259) but not its base, where the cyma of the door-frame is felt to be sufficient. Palmette acroteria adorned the pediment. The tympanum is carved (fig. 259) out

with stylised plant ornament. An acanthus-cup of three, stylised 'leaves' emerges from a bedding of simpler leaf-forms (fig. 261). From the cup runs a stylised tendril-scroll which encloses various leaf and fruit forms (figs. 262-263). I can recognise only ethrogs, grapes, pomegranates and fleurs-de-lys.

Vincent uses the plan of the interior drawn by Slousch from the clearances of 1924. Avigad criticises their inaccuracy and presents a new plan (fig. 264). This too is not wholly reliable, since the interior of the tomb has never been properly cleared. (A hopeful fact; one looks for small finds which will help to establish the date more firmly.) Upon the plan and text of Avigad I rely for my information.

Chambers D, J and K are obviously late additions. Chamber A is the vestibule or central hall. The burial arrangements of B, C, E, F, G and H are various and some are unique to this tomb. The ordinary type of kokh is found only in E, but there is a wide double-kokh in C. There are arcosolia in F (S. wall) G (S. wall) and H (East wall); there are also odd rectangular recesses in the walls of B, C, F, G and H. Presumably benches are hidden beneath the deep rubble in these chambers. Avigad's plan shows that the rectangular niches vary in depth. But all of the arrangements are surely contemporary on the following grounds:

1. B, C and E on the three sides of the hall must be part of the original plan. These have both the ordinary kokh and the odd, deep niches of rectangular form.
2. The regularity of plan and axis indicates that G and F - off E, which is significantly only supplied with kokhim - are also part of the original schema. The same deep, rectangular niches are found here as in B and C, but arcosolia were cut at the same time.
3. Chamber H, which is off axis, may be a generation or so later than the others. But it has the same distinctive burial arrangements.

CONCLUSIONS

The last word has not yet been said about the distinctive qualities and date of the portico of the Bene Hezir. One interesting approach to the evidence which has not yet been attempted is a comparison with some of the formal details of the other Jerusalemite tombs with Doric members. The complete list of such tombs with Doric friezes is:

1. Tomb of the Bene Hezir.
2. Monument of Absalom.
3. Mugharet Umm el-Amed (Part II,viii).
4. Tomb with Doric frieze and Ionic cornice (Part II,ix).
5. Tomb of Helena (Part II,iv).
6. Tomb with facade of two storeys (Part II,vii).

Of these only 2, 5 and 6 have regulae; 1 has four cylindrical guttae, 2 has four conical guttae and 3-6 have six conical guttae below each triglyph. The glyphs have square heads except for 6, which has glyphs with round heads. The triglyphs also have bevelled outer edges on 1-3 and 5; and their abaci are made up of one or two flat listels on 1-4, a cavetto and listel on 5 and a Lesbian cyma and listel on 6. The metopes of 1 are plain, wide and low; those of 2-6 are all taller and narrow, especially 6, and the metopes of 2 are adorned with

moulded paterae, of 3-6 with rosettes. In 5 and 6 the rosettes are moulded forms without petals. The architrave in 1 is slightly higher than the frieze, in 2 almost as high, in 3-4 less than half as high, in 5 about two-thirds as high and in 6 about one-fifth of the height of the frieze. The most significant details seem to be the shape of the guttae, height of the architrave in relation to the frieze, and decor of the metopes. In fact the details above (together with some other means of dating) suggest the following sequence in date:

Portico of the Bene Hezir	2nd century BC
Monument of Absalom	mid 1st century BC
Mugharet Umm el-Amed	c.25 BC - AD 50
Tomb with Ionic cornice	c.25 BC - AD 50
Tomb of Helena	c.60 - 65 AD
Two-storey tomb	c.66 AD ? c.132 AD?

The most decisive distinction is that between the Doric forms of the Tomb of the Bene Hezir - which compare with those of the Qasr el-Abd (c.175 BC) and Tomb 1 at Marisa (c.220 BC) - and all the others. But among the rest the Monument of Absalom stands out as the earliest, and the Two-Storey Tomb as the latest. This last I have attributed to just before one of the two Jewish revolts (AD 66 - 73; AD 132 - 135) on the ground that its facade is unfinished, a fact which could be explained

by the death of the family in the First Revolt or by their displacement after the Second Revolt, when Jews were forbidden to remain in Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina).

Another useful comparison is that between the forms of the Doric capitals found in these tombs. There is only one capital that shows similarities of form, and this is in the henostyle-in-antis facade of the pyramidal monument of Jason (c. 100 BC; *infra* Part II,ii). This has the same straight line to the echinus as at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir; instead of the low cavetto neck below this, which is found in the latter, the capital from the Tomb of Jason has three narrow mouldings at its neck, which recall Greek annulets. Only two other Doric capitals are sufficiently well preserved - one at Tomb 8 of the rock-cut tombs at Sanhedriyye, where the echinus is a tall cavetto between fillets; and one at the Two-Storey Tomb, where the echinus is simply a tall cavetto. In both these cases the form is very debased (the original form was a convex curve) and much later than at the Portico of the Bene Hezir. The purity of its order, the balance of its members and the style of its details distinguish the Portico of the Bene Hezir from the generally debased Doric forms of the other tombs of Jerusalem.

The entry which is carved out and then painted at the rear of the gabled recess in Tomb 1 of Marisa (infra Part VI) shares the forms of stylistic details which were employed for the tomb of the Bene Hezir. Tomb 1 at Marisa is dated by inscriptions over the loculi to c.220 BC. The significant details shared by this entry and the Doric portico are:

1. The architrave is as high as the Doric frieze.
2. There are triglyphs at the angles, not metopes.
3. The metopes are wide and low.
4. The metopes are not decorated.
5. The guttae are cylindrical, and are placed rather carelessly below each triglyph.

These similarities must reflect the style of the order which was in use for contemporary freestanding structures. Such Greek styles would come first to the West-oriented coastal cities, and would then penetrate inland even to the mountains of Judaea.

The contribution of the palaeography of the inscription to the issue of the date of the Doric Portico is not decisive. Avigad suggests that it should be dated early in the 1st century BC (comparable with ossuaries, the Uzziah plaque, the Gezer boundary inscription, scrolls); Cross dates it at about

the end of the 1st century BC by analogy with the manuscript of Deuteronomy from Qumran cave 4 (4QDeut1). If we take as a plausible mean a date about the mid 1st century BC for the inscription, we must reckon back at least two generations for the origin of the portico; if the inscription was carved at the instigation of the children of those buried in the tomb - which seems a reasonable supposition to me - we must reckon back at least three generations (100 years or so), which gives us a date about the middle of the second century, close to the date of the Qasr el-Abd at Araq el-Emir (infra part VII) and half a century after tomb 1 at Marisa.

Detailed comparisons of the Doric portico with the Qasr el-Abd and also with the Nefesh of Hamrat at Suweida will be made in Part X.

An interpretation of the inaccuracies of measurements and detail on the Doric Portico and the Pyramid of Zachariah as an inexperienced early (3rd century BC) attempt at Greek forms is unrealistic. Such inaccuracies are ubiquitous at Jerusalem and typical of provincial work.

A significant fact in which I disagree with Avigad is his interpretation of the date of the Pyramid. This is not in what he calls the mixed Hellenistic style; only one, pure order is used. Nor is there anything inherently incongruous in

supposing that a pure Doric portico and a monument in which the new, fashionable Ionic forms are added to a strong local tradition derived from Egypt could be planned as a single conception. The details of both Portico and Pyramid suggest the 2nd century BC. Moreover no other tomb has been discovered to belong with the Pyramid; arguments that the Pyramid was never properly finished and that its tomb was not even begun are too weak to be given any weight. It seems to me that the ideas of Vincent on the earlier form of the tomb adequately explain the only problem in any attempt to associate tomb and pyramid - the facade to the left of the portico. This plain, heavy facade could readily belong to an earlier shaft-tomb on the site, as the original nefesh of a pre-Hellenistic form. The theory of Vincent also explains another awkward fact - that the entry to the portico on its North side emerges into the ceiling and the top of the wall. Avigad suggests that this was a mistake in planning, but how could such a gross error in the calculation of the incline of the shaft occur in such a short distance? Rather must this be a conversion of the shaft which belonged with the older form of tomb. Thus we have a pre-Hellenistic chamber with its nefesh converted in the second century to an enlarged tomb-system with benches and kokhim, provided with a magnificent portico and matched by a new nefesh in fashionable taste more

suited to the wealth and dignity of the owners of the tomb.

The Pyramid has pure Ionic decor of good form and agreeable simplicity; in addition it retains the square-based, straight-sided pyramid as its crown. In all respects the Monument of Absalom goes one step further - it elaborates Ionic forms, favours the mixed Doric-Ionic style which became increasingly popular as the Hellenistic Age progressed, and rejects the traditional pyramid of the locality in favour of a fine, Hellenistic cone-roof. The order favoured is more slight in form, as one would expect with the advance of time (e.g., the ratio of the lower diameter of the columns to height is 1:7 as opposed to 1:5½). It has one incontrovertibly Roman intrusion upon its form - the cyma reversa as a base moulding; but clearly it stands only at the very beginning of Roman influence, since it still has Hellenistic Greek details in other respects. One fragment from the tomb of the Herods suggests that at about the same time (c. 40 BC) a cone-pyramid was also used for the monument erected there, as certainly also occurred at the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene.

It also seems to me that an interpretation of the members of the Monument of Absalom alternative to the one offered by Avigad is possible. Avigad's suggestion was that

the drum represented the Hellenistic tholos, or rather only the high socle and crowning entablature of this, the actual shrine of open, columnar form being rejected. My own suggestion is that the 'high socle' of Avigad is a conversion of the open, columnar shrine to a solid drum. Columns are omitted only because the architect inherited from the Pyramid of Zachariah the engaged columns and antae of the lower cube, and did not wish to overload the monument with decorative supports. The square attic acts as socle for the drum and cone.

Briefly, all of these monuments show Greek influence, and one shows the first encroachment of Roman forms. The earliest tomb has a Doric portico which embraces Greek members in their proper relationship with each other and with good Greek proportions and details. The two free-standing monuments show the transformation of a local tradition derived ultimately from Egypt to the acceptance of Hellenistic decor, and finally of a baroque Hellenistic style which still retains the Egyptian roll-and-gorge. The tympanum of Jehosaphat shows the beginning of the development of that combination of stylised acanthus-cup and scroll with naturalistic local fruits which was also initially taken over from the Hellenistic Greek world of forms, but was to be developed by Jewish craftsmen in the Herodian period into a local, orientalising style. (See too Part X.)

THE TOMB OF JASON

This tomb and associated pyramidal monument were cleared in 1956, and published by the excavator L. Y. Rahmani in:

Atiqot, IV, 1964 (Hebrew)

IEJ, 1967, pp.61-113

The approach is a succession of small courts which succeed each other before the facade (fig. 272). From the forecourt an arched opening in a cross-wall gives access to a second court, which one crossed to enter the inmost court by a heavy stone door (now gone) set in another cross-wall. The walls and entries were found in a state of ruin, but there is no problem involved in the restoration (figs. 265-266). In all of the restoration (see figs. 265-271) the original stones show as darker and rougher. The cross-wall with restored arch is shown in fig. 265; fig. 266 looks through this arch at the remains in situ of the inner cross-wall and at the restored facade of the monument. It must be emphasised that much of the restoration is conjectural.

The vestibule-chamber was rock-cut, but its facade was built and so was the monumental superstructure above. These

built parts had collapsed into the two inner courts. Of the facade and its opening only a single column-base remained in situ and traces of antae in the floor-plaster. In addition drum fragments were found from the column-shaft and a large fragment of the capital (fig. 267 capital; 268 restored; 269 base in situ). The details of the form of the column (fig. 276 drawing) are as follows. The shaft was unfluted; the Doric capital has a straight echinus with an astragal and two fillets at its neck, a similar profile to that found at the tomb of the Bene Hezir; the base mouldings are a succession of fillets and torus profiles, but the crowning fillet is topped by a diagonal face into the shaft (fig. 269).

The walls, floor and part of the ceiling of the vestibule were thickly plastered. On the plaster were Aramaic and Greek inscriptions, and some drawings. The drawings are crude graffiti of three ships, a stag, a palm-branch, menorot and a chalice. The menorot and perhaps some of the other motifs were added some time after the ships had been drawn, since one of the menorot was begun over a ship. The large, pursuing warship has a tall figure at the prow, which is probably intended to represent the tomb-founder. One at least presumes that his occupation was naval. And the deer may indicate that one of his pleasures was hunting.

The architectural fragments found in the courts are from the collapsed frontispiece of the vestibule and from its superstructure. Unfortunately the description of these is the weakest part of the publication (there are a few more details in the Hebrew than in the English) and no attempt is made either to analyse or to justify the restorations of Hiram. The recovered angle-stones (figs. 270-271) of the pyramid and attic make certain the restoration of their forms - a square attic and a square-based pyramid of four sides. But the restorations of the cornice mouldings and of the whole frontispiece below the attic is based on a few worn fragments. We know nothing definite of the facade of the vestibule and of the member directly upon it, nor of the cornice of the attic. Only the elements of the Doric column are not in doubt. The published architectural fragments are:

1. The angle fragment of a cornice (figs. 273, 2; 274).
This worn fragment, restored as cymas and a cavetto, may be part of the left anta and its cornice.
2. Part of a base with a torus (figs. 273, 1; 275).
3. An angle moulding (fig. ^{275A}~~277~~).
4. A badly worn angle moulding (fig. ^{275B}~~278~~).
5. An architectural fragment on which the bow and anchor of a ship are carved (fig. ^{275C}~~280~~).

This recurrence of ships is an interesting aspect of the finds, and characteristically Hasmonaean. The Jewish drive for coastland was, for instance, expressed by an anchor type on coins of Jannaeus. And I Macc., 13, 25-30 says of the tomb of the Maccabees set up at Modin by Simon:

"Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days. Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father and his mother and his four brethren. And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sailed on the sea."

The inscriptions on the plaster of the vestibule are published by Avigad (Aramaic) and Benoit (Greek). The second line of the Greek inscription is revised by Lifshitz (RB, 1966, pp.248-257). The clearest parts of the Aramaic inscriptions are the phrases 'a powerful lament' (line 3 of the Jason inscription) and 'make a powerful lament for Jason' (line 1). These two scraps give us the basic information that the tomb is for

Jason, and that his epitaph is an Aramaic lament. Avigad dates the inscription on palaeographic grounds to c.100 BC. The Greek inscription is a typical Greek exhortation to enjoy life, eat and drink:

Obviously the tomb belonged to a wealthy Jewish family of Hasmonaean times receptive to Greek influence.

Beyond the vestibule are the two burial-chambers (fig. 272). Chamber A has benches and kokhim which are large and square-headed. It has been disturbed - bones scattered, and cover-slabs removed. Chamber B is a plain bone-chamber; it contained bones from about 25 skeletons which were moved from the kokhim of chamber A (a point established by the finding of parts of the same objects in kokhim, vestibule and chamber B). The pottery is published in great detail. The Herodian ware (gbbular juglets, piriform bottles, jars, cooking-pots, 4-5 lamps) is overshadowed by earlier forms - 16 spindle-bottles, 21-24 lamps, mostly of well known pre-Herodian types of local ware. The spindle-bottles are like those of Beth-zur, and provide a date of c. 100 BC for the first use of the tomb. The pottery of the bone-chamber is in general older than that of chamber A. Coins add their weight to the clarity of the dating - 5 or 6 of Jannaeus (103-76), 1 of Hyrcanus II (67-40)

and 2 of Herod (37-4). In addition 42 procuratorial coins, mostly of 30-31 AD were found in kokh 9, where an additional skeleton pushed the earlier one into the angle; and 4 procuratorial coins were found in the inner court above the collapsed masonry and thin earth-layer that covered it.

Rahmani forms the following conclusions:

1. tomb used from c. 100 BC to Herod's establishment as King.
2. robbed c. 37 BC.
3. earthquake collapse 31 BC.
4. kokh 9 re-used 30-31 AD and tomb sealed.

The scattered closing-slabs and bones of chamber A indicate the robbery,. These were thrown directly onto the rock-floor beneath all other debris. The date of the robbery is fixed by the fact that the known date of the earth-tremor was 31 BC (Jos. Ant. XV, 212-233; Wars I, 371). The robbery must be before this, but cannot have been much earlier than 31 BC, because coins of Herod and Herodian lamps were found in the vestibule and inner court directly upon the plastered floors and beneath the earthquake debris. The tomb apparently belonged to a wealthy Sadducaic family of the late Hasmonaean period against whom Herod took reprisals in 37 BC (Jos. Ant. XV, 6-7) when he entered Jerusalem. The reuse of kokh 9 is dated by the procuratorial coins.

Thus the tomb architecture dates from c. 100 BC, the time of Alexander Jannaeus, when Jason, founder of the tomb and presumably a naval commander, was buried. Little can be said of the details; few are preserved, and these are badly worn. The Doric capital is compressed, but still of good form compared with the debased Doric capitals of the Two-Storey tomb and Tomb 8 at Sanhedriyye. The mouldings are Greek, as was the henostyle in antis frontispiece. But here as with the earlier Pyramid of Zachariah, the Greek ornament and frontispiece are combined with the square-based pyramid of Egypt.

THE TOMB OF THE HERODS

The earliest finds and conclusions are given by C. Schick (PEQ, 1892, pp.115-120) and R. A. S. Macalister (PEQ, 1901, pp.397-402). Vincent has published the only detailed study of the tomb ('Jerusalem A.T.', pp.342-346). I give the plan published by Vincent (fig. 277); my own photo of the entry (fig. 278); a photo of the interior from Vincent (fig. 279) and of the fragments from the monument which was associated with the tomb (figs. 280-283). Two stone sarcophagi and an ornate lid were found in the tomb (supra Part I, v, and I,v, nos. 6 and 7; figs. 207-208) together with some ossuaries.

The tomb was entered down a stepped ramp; it was closed by a huge rolling-stone (fig. 278). The entry leads to a large vestibule (fig. 277,B) and then a small hall (ibid. C), which is out of alignment with the vestibule. At the sides of the hall are large, square, plain burial-chambers; beyond it is the long burial-chamber (fig. 277, F) where the sarcophagi were found; this is also devoid of special burial-arrangements. Beyond it were two small and narrow passages (fig. 277, G, H). There is no architectural ornament carved upon the tomb itself;

but great care was lavished upon it in the form of a revetment of large, well-finished, stone slabs (fig. 279). These elegant freestone slabs line the walls throughout except for the passages G and H, which were plastered; they create the impression that the tomb is built, whereas in fact it is rock-cut. The floors too are carefully levelled. Only the ceilings are irregular, since they follow the line between a bed of hard limestone and a bed of soft limestone. Over the small 'cage' (fig. 277, C) which serves as the hall was a built vault; Vincent plausibly suggests that the natural rock was cut away here because this was the starting point for the operation of hewing out the tomb-chambers. It is noteworthy that the usual Jewish burial-arrangements - the benches, kokhim and arcosolia - are entirely lacking from this tomb. The sarcophagi and ossuaries found in 1891 were not put upon benches or set in niches, but stood upon the floor of the chamber. The plan - vestibule, hall and burial-chambers at the sides of the hall and beyond it - is that of the Marisa tombs, of the tomb of the Bene Hezir and of the tomb of Jehosaphat, which I believe to be contemporary with or slightly before this tomb at Nicophorieh. The burial-chambers (D, E, F) were sealed by large slabs; when these were in place they simply appeared to be part of the system of revetments.

The tomb had been robbed before 1891, which explains the dearth of small finds. The most attentive investigation of the chambers brought to light only a few sherds, which Vincent designates as 'Herodian' (not published), and some broken glass from unguentaria. The ossuaries date the tomb to the Herodian period (infra Part IV). The importance of the presence of ossuaries for dating this tomb emphasises the fact that the tomb of the Bene Hezir and the tomb of Jehosaphat have so far had to be dated without the aid of small finds. Rahmani (Atiqot, 1951, p.117, note 4) mentions that Ben-Zvi, who helped in the clearances by Slousch of the tomb of Jehosaphat in 1924, has told him that no ossuaries were found there; but there are heaps of debris still in this tomb.

Numerous architectural fragments were found outside the tomb; these belonged to a free-standing structure with columns and entablature (figs. 280-283). A cornice fragment published by Vincent is of normal Greek form - adorned with anthemion and the egg-and-dart (fig. 280). The capitals are of at least two styles - in one the two zones of acanthus leaves are veined in normal Greek fashion; in the other the leaf-form is not serrated, but is like the finial of the Monument of Absalom or the Corinthian capitals at the tomb of Helena (figs. 282 serrated; 281, 283 not serrated). In addition the fragment of fig. 283 - which just shows the two zones of unserrated leaf -

has two tall and narrow leaves above the leaf-zones, and these perform a stylised curl which matches that of the Corinthian helices just above. These two tall, curved leaves are in the same style as the others of fragments 281 and 283. Such heterodox forms of the Corinthian capital indicate the influence of late Hellenistic Alexandria (infra Part X). These fragments must be associated with a tomb-monument, a magnificent, free-standing structure at the site. This utilised a rock-platform the dimensions of which are given by Vincent as 18 m. by 20 m. An additional fragment published by Schick (fig. 284) is part of the same type of finial as that which crowns the Monument of Absalom. This suggests that here too at the tomb of Nicophoriah a cone-roof crowned the monumental structure, as we know was the case with the Monument of Absalom (c. 40 BC) and the tomb of Helena (c.60-65 AD). Vincent also suggests that remains on a salient just to the South are from a cloister which enclosed the precincts of the Royal Tomb.

That this is in fact a Royal Tomb was first suggested by Schick - who thought Herod's wives were buried here - and has been accepted by Séjourné and Abel as well as Vincent (see Schick, ZDPV, 1893, p.203; Séjourné, RB, 1892, pp.267-272; Abel, RB, 1946, pp.56-74). The suggestion was made because

Josephus refers to a 'Monument of Herod' on the West of the city in his description of the siege-wall of Titus (Wars, V, 108; and espy. V, 504-508). It is described as adjoining the Serpent's Pool (modern Birket es-Sultan) and near a village called House of Pulse. This situation corresponds - according to the position of Birket es-Sultan - to that of the Nicophorieh tomb, and there are no other tombs anywhere near this vicinity. Moreover the wall of Titus followed the heights, and the Nicophorieh is on a small hill. The date provided by the ossuaries, and the magnificence of the tomb and its monument, its unusual location West of Jerusalem, and the fine sarcophagi found in one of the chambers - one of which is the only sarcophagus to emulate the Neo-Attic classicising style of ornament - all indicate that this was the royal tomb and monument of the Herods. The tomb and monument were probably cut out and erected early in the reign of King Herod (37-4 BC), since the corpse of Herod's younger brother was transferred to a tomb at Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. XVII, 59). Herod himself and his sons were buried on Alexandrion.

THE TOMB OF QUEEN HELENA (ZADDAN) OF ADIABENE

INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cassas, Pierotti, Salzmann, de Saulcy - supra II, i, bibliography. These travellers drew (or in the case of Pierotti photographed) the magnificent facade of the tomb. One again notes the inaccuracy of the work by Cassas (fig. 285) whereas de Saulcy's drawing is accurate in nearly all respects (fig. 286). De Saulcy found the sarcophagus-lids which are my Part I,v nos. 2-4 (figs. 202-204):

F. de Saulcy 'Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques exécuté de décembre 1850 à avril 1851' (Paris, 1853), Atlas pls. XXXI-XXXIII.

He found these in the lower chambers of the tomb, and returned in 1863 to undertake the extensive clearances described in:

idem 'Voyage en Terre sainte' (Paris, 1865), Vol. I, pp. 345-410.

The trench which he dug in front of the vestibule of the tomb produced the remains of a monumental structure - cornices, parts of columns, part of one of the antae of the facade.

In the large hall of the tomb (fig. 317, A) he found the vessels which he drew in his publication (ibid. pp.355, 358 text; 356-357, 359-362 drawings; my figs. ^{338B-F}~~340-344~~) and some coins which are published by:

H. de Villefosse 'Notice des Monuments provenant de Palestine ... du Louvre' (Paris, 1876) no. 32.

In the same work nos. 17-45 are all connected with this tomb - no. 37 is twenty-five glass unguentaria; no. 41 is an ossuary; nos. 42-44 are cornice fragments; Beautiful plates of the sarcophagi, which de Saulcy took back with him, were published before this by:

A. de Longpérier 'Musée Napoléon Trois' (Paris, undated) pls. XXX, XXXI.

Some of the vessels found by de Saulcy were large urns which held cremated bones - presumably the Romans used the hall of the tomb to bury their dead in AD 70. He found ossuaries in the inner chambers (ibid. p.368 drawing; my fig. 338A) and an intact sarcophagus in an unviolated lower chamber (fig. 317, c) with the inscription 'Zaddan (Zaddah) the Queen' in Hebrew and Aramaic.

In 1897 C. Schick reported (PEQ, 1897, pp.182-188) that a further clearance of a large deposit of earth from the court

in front of the vestibule had been carried out in 1878; many fragments were found, including the upper part of a pyramid, column-bases, the angle of an architrave and a capital. No drawings or photographs were published at this time. Soon after this, E. Pfennigsdorf (ZDPV, 1904, pp.173-187) discovered the remains of the original entry to the tomb-precinct at the head of the flight of steps by which its court is approached. He also found traces of a surrounding upper wall.

A brief description of the tomb and an analysis of its forms and decor were given by Watzinger:

C. Watzinger 'Denkmäler Palästinas', Vol. II, 1935,
pp. 65-66.

But the first full-scale publication of the tomb was:

M. Kon 'The Tombs of the Kings' (Tel-Aviv, 1947, in Hebrew).

His theories are at times wild. One must reject the following suggestions:

1. A low screen-wall across the vestibule, and a central door. On the contrary it is clear that this was an open space with a distyle in antis frontispiece.

2. The circular, spiralling depressions near the facade and within the vestibule were covered by monumental stones and formed part of a mechanism which mysteriously opened doors, rolled weights and lifted closing-slabs at the tomb-entry.

This theory is not derived from any indications at the site, but from the descriptions of such mechanisms by Hieron of Alexandria, and from a late 'traveller's tale' in Pausanias ('Description of Greece', VIII, xvi,4f).

But Kon's observations upon what does remain at the site are detailed and helpful - a description and drawings of a cornice (my figs. 325-326), a base (fig. 323), fragments which he establishes belonged to a cone-pyramid (figs. 333-337); also of the frieze and cornice of the facade (my figs. 311-312) and one of its antae (fig. 313), and of a stone door from the interior of the tomb (my fig. 319).

Finally the tomb and its monument are described and discussed by Vincent:

H. Vincent 'Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament' (Paris, 1954), pp.346-362. I reproduce from this work the plans of Stève (my figs. 317-318) and Vincent's conjectural restoration of the Monument (fig. 319).

ILLUSTRATIONS

My photographs show the approaches to the tomb (figs. 287-290), the full length of its facade (figs. 289-290) or part of it (figs. 291-293), and details of its Doric frieze and cornice (figs. 294-302) and lower frieze (figs. 303-307); also the entry to the tomb (fig. 316) and one of the heterodox Corinthian capitals from its monument (figs. 320-321). The details of the lower frieze are also shown on photographs reproduced from Kon (figs. 308-310); of the Doric frieze and cornice by his drawings (figs. 311-312); of the antae by his drawing and photograph (figs. 313-314) and by Vincent's photograph (fig. 315). The plans of the interior (figs. 317-318) are those drawn for Vincent by Stève; the stone door from the interior is Kon's drawing (fig. 319). The fragments of architectural ornament from the cornices and bases of the monument are illustrated by reproduction of the photographs of Vincent (figs. 322, 324, 327-332) and of Kon's drawings (figs. 333-337). The possible form of the monument as conjectured by Vincent is also given (fig. 338). The sarcophagi have already been described (supra I, v, and I, v, nos. 1-5; figs. 201-205); one ossuary was my fig. 206, another is fig. 338A; the pottery is figs. ~~340-344~~.

338B-F

DESCRIPTION

The tomb and its precinct are the most ambitious undertaking in funereal architecture carried out at Jerusalem. It lies in a great, sunken area which was surrounded by an upper wall, and was entered by means of an imposing flight of steps between rock-cut walls and alongside the court. Pfennigsdorf found traces of the upper wall and of the entry above the steps. My fig. 287 shows the wide, stepped descent. At the bottom one entered the court of the tomb through a rock-cut arch in the wall to the left of the steps. Fig. 288 looks back through this arch; figs. 289-290 show the facade and an angle of the large court which one crossed to reach the vestibule (fig. 338 shows the direction). In an angle of the court near the facade (fig. 289) and again within the open vestibule (fig. 338) are small circular basins which may have been cut out in the rock-floor for ritual lustrations.

The facade of the tomb (figs. 290;291-315) is a product of Hellenic forms and the fully developed skills and aesthetic tastes of the Herodian Jewish craftsmen and architect. Unfortunately it is badly ruined on the left side and has gaping cracks in several other places also (espy. figs. 299, 301, 304). In addition the wide, open, distyle in antis entry to the vestibule has been damaged badly at both sides, so that only the upper parts of a continuous frieze of plant-forms

survive. At one point part of the frieze as it runs above the entry has been cut away together with the column which had been supporting it at this point. Of the other column only the upper part of the capital remains, too badly ruined for any comment on its form. The antae are gone except for the angle of the capital of the right-hand anta (figs. 303-304). The profile (fig. 304; drawing fig. 313,A) of this below the abacus is a cavetto and a splay-face, which Kon compares with a form from Hellenistic Priene (fig. 313, B). The base of the other anta has survived as a detached fragment; this has the cyma (fig. 313, C; photos fig. 314, 315 right).

The lower frieze is a continuous, flat strip covered by a lacework of plant and fruit ornament in the deep-cut style that we have already seen on the sarcophagi and ossuaries. Only the right-hand side is preserved (figs. 292, 294, 296, 303-310). Its vertical arm (figs. 292, 303, 304, 308, 1) is adorned with a pattern of flattened acanthus leaves paired on a stalk, and at the top a fluted leaf-cup of geometric form. The central stalk is carried horizontally along the part of the frieze over the entry, and has a variety of large and small leaf-types on either side; fruits of various kinds are disposed along or near the stock. At one point the stem forms a pattern of convolutions (figs. 303-304; 309,1) with large berries

inside it; at another ethrogs can still be discerned (figs. 303; 308,2); further to the left are cones (figs. 305; 309,2) and perhaps an almond (figs. 306, 307; 310,2; on the top line) and acorns (fig. 310,1). All of these fruits were found also on the sarcophagus-lid from this tomb which is no. 2 of my catalogue (supra I,v,). The central ornament of the frieze was a double rosette - three of the eight 'petals' of the inner form can still be seen (figs. 306, 307: 310,2); the outer form is of leaves.

Above this is a Doric frieze (figs. 290-291; 293-302). Moulded rosette-paterae adorn the metopes (fig. 312); the triglyphs have regulae below the taenia, and each has six conical guttae. At the centre of the frieze, however, the Greek forms are replaced by a special group of emblems - a hanging bunch of three grape-clusters, which has on either side a wreath and an acanthus-cup. Below the acanthus-cup are regulae and guttae; but below the central three emblems is a double moulding with cavetto and cyma profiles (figs. 294-295, 298, 302) which gives them emphasis. The wreaths are made up of punctured blobs, and have at their crowns a hanging knot with leaves at either side. The acanthus-cup is in the shape of a lyra with side-leaves overlapping the vertical, central leaf, which has at its tip five lobes of

more developed shape (figs. 294, 295, 298, 301,302); this creation is a patterned unit, finely carved and still retaining some semblance of body.

Above the Doric frieze is a Doric cornice (figs. 290-291, 293, 295-297, 301-302; 311 profiles - with the two friezes also). This has the following mouldings in upward progression - cavetto, fillet, cyma reversa, dripstone, fillet, ovolo, fillet, fillet, cavetto, listel. Kon's drawing (fig. 311) is from a cast at the Hebrew University. It is interesting to see that de Saulcy reproduced all of these profiles in 1853 except the topmost cavetto (fig. 286).

The interior of the tomb is entered from the left side of the vestibule through a low entry which was closed by a small rolling-stone (fig. 316). Steps are cut down from the floor of the vestibule to this entry, and a rebate marks the position for a closing-slab which concealed the steps, the stone and the entry. One enters a large, square hall with benches (fig. 317,A); from this hall there is access to three upper burial-chambers (fig. 317, B, D, F) and to a small chamber at the same level with benches (fig. 317, H). Here ossuary fragments were found by de Saulcy. The burial provisions in B and D are much the same - ordinary kokhim, and doubled kokhim

to which small compartments are added at the end or side. In F the same doubled kokhim are found, but in addition at the centre of each of its three available walls is a passage tunneled into the rock, which has an arcosolium on each side and another at the end. The entries to these three arcosolium compartments were stone-doors. Larger stone-doors were set in the entries to the three chambers themselves (B, D, F). These had a square lower panel and an arched upper one (fig. 319). Projecting pivots at the top and bottom of the doors were inserted in holes in the wall by the entry. The panels of the doors are framed by mouldings. The door between the vestibule and the hall - at the end of a short passage just within the rolling-stone entry - is larger still; it was found by de Saulcy and taken to the Louvre. Four oblong panels are carved with frame-mouldings in the stone (R. Dussaud, 'Les Monuments palestiniens...', 1912, no. 34). Each of the three upper burial-chambers has an entry to a burial-chamber at a lower level. Chamber B leads to C, which has three bench-arcosolia. This was the only chamber still unviolated by tomb-robbers at the time of de Saulcy's clearances in 1861; in it on one of the benches of the arcosolia was the sarcophagus of Queen Zaddan. Chamber D has a false kokh to conceal steps down to E, which also has three arcosolia; F leads down to G, which has one arcosolium and a stepped bench against one wall. Thus the total of burial-provisions will hold forty-eight at one time.

Inside the tomb were found sarcophagi, ossuaries, vessels and coins. The pottery is largely the usual Herodian forms - cooking-pots, an alabastron, piriform and globular unguentaria. The lamp form with volutes, striations and sunken discus has been dated to the later part of the 1st century AD (see M. A. Murray and J. C. Ellis, 'A Street in Petra', 1940, pl. XXXVI, 15; resembles Cornith type XXIV of Broneer); the type with sunken discus and small nozzle is familiar (infra Part IV). There are also the glass 'candlestick' bottles often found associated in tombs with the Herodian group. Villefosse no. 32 is a group of seven coins of years 2 and 3 of the First Revolt (AD 66-70); this is the type in bronze with an amphora and a vine leaf with tendril.

Outside the tomb were found architectural fragments from a built structure associated with it; this probably stood above the tomb. De Saulcy discovered during his clearance that beneath the debris on top of the tomb a platform had been levelled off with rubble fill. The fragments include part of a frieze which was crowned by a bead-and-reel (fig. 315); the frieze was adorned - like the Doric frieze of the facade - with an acanthus-cup. Alongside this is the tip of a rosette with darts between the petals like sarcophagus no. 6 (I,v,). Attic bases with the upper torus cut back - a sign of lateness - were also found (figs. 315, 322, 323). The four capitals (other

fragments were also found) are of Corinthian form, but heterodox - with the flat leaf which is now becoming familiar to us (figs. 320-321). The rest of the fragments are from cornices of different sizes and styles. The angle of a cornice is represented in figs. 324-326; it has a soffit adorned by rosettes, and anthemias and egg-and-dart on the crowning profiles (a cyma almost reduced to a tall cavetto, and a quarter-round); other fragments from the same cornice are shown on figs. 331-332. A different form with eggs and dentils is in figs. 329-330, and 328, which also has a fragment with unadorned profiles. A third form has bead-and-reel (fig. 327). We have then a structure or structures with columns which had late Hellenistic Attic bases, heterodox late Hellenistic Corinthian capitals, a frieze adorned with rosettes and other forms, and at least three sizes and styles of cornice. Other fragments have been convincingly restored by Kon to a cone-pyramid and attic-drum. Fig. 333,1 is the two uppermost stones of the pyramid, which have a crowning rope torus and a discus for the insertion of a finial which was perhaps like fig. 337. Fig. 333,2 is one of the two stones which formed the next course of the cone below the uppermost. The others are cornices (figs. 334,1 and 2; 335,1) and a plain stone (fig. 335,2) from the drum which was below the cone-pyramid. Two are from the same cornice (334,2 and 335,1). Fig. 336 is the

restoration - with two possible angles of curve to the cone - which Kon offers from these seven stones.

These remains of the monument and the pretentious tomb itself are to be linked with the account that Josephus gives of the conversion of Queen Helena and her son Izates to Judaism. Izates died about AD 65, and was succeeded by his brother Monobazus. Helena returned to Adiabene on the death of Izates, but did not long outlive him (Ant. XX, 17-96). The key passage is Ant. XX, 95:

'Monobazus sent her bones and those of his brother to Jerusalem with instructions that they should be buried in the three pyramids that his mother had erected at a distance of three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem' (tr. Loeb)

In addition 'Helena's Monuments' are mentioned in Wars, V, 55 and 147; her tomb is noted as a landmark in Wars, V, 119. The circumstances which speak for the identification of the tomb and three pyramids of Helena with the tomb here discussed are:

1. the burial-provisions, architectural details, pottery, glass and coins all point to a date about AD 60.
2. ossuaries were in use from c. 40 BC to AD 70.

3. the magnificence of the tomb, its sarcophagi and its large-scale burial-arrangements indicate a wealthy and important founder.
4. fragments of one or more cone-pyramids like that at the Monument of Absalom have been found.
5. the undisturbed sarcophagus found by de Saulcy was that of a queen, whose Aramaic name was Zaddan; her Greek name is not given on the sarcophagus.
6. the position of the tomb roughly corresponds to the distance of 'three furlongs' from the city (actually $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from the Damascus Gate).

As far as we can tell the Monuments of Helena were of late Hellenistic, Greek form - with Corinthian columns, Attic bases, a modified Doric frieze, cornices with dentils, anthemias, eggs, bead-and-reel and the profiles ovolo, astragal, cyma, cavetto, and a Hellenistic conic crown, not the Egyptian form found at the Pyramid of Zachariah and the Tomb of Jason. Greek forms were also used on the facade of the tomb, but here their meaningful and balanced unity is disrupted by the insertion of an Oriental element. This - the flat, 'all-over', leaf-and-fruit tracery of the deep-cut technique - is in the style which we have already found on the sarcophagi. Its insertion into the form destroys the architectonic significance of the Doric architrave-frieze-cornice disposition. Such a disruption would,

of course, be inconceivable to a Greek mind, and shows the absorption of Greek form at Jerusalem without true understanding or sharing of the underlying aesthetic. In addition the form of the Doric frieze is itself broken by the three central emblems - the grape-clusters, wreaths and acanthus-cup. More developed arguments about this tomb will be advanced in Part X infra.

TOMBS OF THE JUDGES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. de Saulcy 'Voyage...', 1853, Atlas, pl. XXXIV.
Drawing of the facade of tomb 14
(my fig. 339).
- G. A. Barton Journal of Biblical Lit., 1903, pp.
164-172. Describes the interiors of
tombs 8 and 14.
- C. Watzinger 'Denkmäler Palästinas', Vol. II, 1935,
pp.59-61. Describes tombs 8 and 14
with comment on the style of the
tympanum of 14.
- N. Avigad PEQ, 1947, pp.119-122.
Full architectural details of tomb 8
are presented after a clearance of the
site.
- J. Jotham-Rothschild PEQ, 1952, pp.23-38.
PEQ, 1954, pp.16-22.
'Short Guide to the rock-cut tombs of

Sanhedriyya' (Dept. of Antiquities,
1956).

Clearance of nine tombs of the group,
and the official publication (with
useful plates).

H. Vincent

'Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament',
pp.364-5 (tomb 8) and pp.365-367
(tomb 14).

L. Y. Rahmani

Atiqot, III, 1961 (English), pp.93-104.
The small finds from the clearances of
the tombs.

DESCRIPTION

The only ornamentation is found at the entry to tomb 2, which has a framing cyma recta; in a burial-chamber of tomb 7, where the sarcophagi were carved which I have discussed in Part I,v,2 and 7, no. 8; in the distyle in antis facade of tomb 8; and in the ornate entry ornaments of tomb 14. Of the distyle arrangement of tomb 8 only the antae and one column remain (fig. 349). This is an unfluted Doric column without a base. Avigad's measurements have shown that the shaft shows diminution into an ellipse, which is carried into the form of the capital. This is debased - a high cavetto echinus between fillets, and an abacus. Above the columns and antae there is no entablature beyond a plain architrave, which is indicated by cutting back of the rock-face. The antae capitals are different from each other; they consist of irregular fillets separated by grooves. The tomb has a fine court with benches cut from the rock along two sides, and with an approach by means of a wide flight of steps.

Tomb 14 is shown in my photographs figs. 340-347. This has a larger court than tomb 8, and benches around three sides. The main entry is the width of the small vestibule (fig. 340). It is framed by a cyma between plate-bands (fig. 342). Above it

is a pediment framed by a low quarter-round and cavetto, and with small dentils along the inner edge and below the base (fig. 343). The tympanum is filled by a flat tracery of ornament in the deep-cut style with all the forms spread out on the surface as much as possible. From an acanthus-cup by now debased to an unrecognisable form - a broad, upright centre leaf flanked by low side leaves in a bow shape - emerges a flat scroll, a form of convoluted tendril from which spread acanthus leaves in sprays, or pomegranates and ethrogs. The result is a confused *melée* in which nothing distinctive or separate presents itself to the eye. This ornament alone is sufficient to date the tomb to the mid 1st century AD or even later. Palmette acroteria survive at the lower angles; the crowning finial is lost. The vestibule has a moulded epicranitis. The entry from vestibule to tomb-chamber is adorned by an Ionic T-frame with a cyma moulding, and this too, like the outer entry, is crowned by a pediment with small dentils. The acroteria are too badly worn to be interpreted. The tympanum is covered by the carving of a flat acanthus-leaf which spreads out from a central button (figs. 346-347).

The plans (but not burial dispositions) of tombs 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 18, 19 and 20 are given in figs. 348 and 350. The simplest arrangement is a vestibule, a hall and a burial-chamber

in straight line behind one another (5, 6, 20), but this is usually elaborated with side chambers (7, 8, 14, 18, 19). Only 'tombs 8 and 14 have any real claim to distinction (fig. 350). In its main chamber or hall tomb 14 has thirteen kokhim in two tiers on the North wall; the upper tier is disposed as pairs of kokhim within and set back from three arcosolia of the bench-type ('Short Guide..', pl.IV,1). Two chambers are entered from the hall at the same level. Both have rock-cut benches and nine kokhim at the level of the floor of the central pit; in addition one has on three sides arcosolia of the bench-type and the other has an upper tier of kokhim. Steps at the N.E. angle of the hall lead down to a small cage or compartment with two kokhim, and beyond this to a larger chamber with twelve kokhim. In addition both of these subterranean chambers have passages which end in small- box-compartments, reminiscent of the similar provisions with some of the double kokhim of the tomb of Helena. In the S.W. angle of the upper hall further steps lead down to an unfinished chamber. The hall of tomb 8 was plain, but the chamber beyond the hall had arcosolia on three sides, and two kokhim within each arcosolium.

Inside tomb 14 Barton mentions that he found fragments of ossuaries in all the kokhim. H. de Villefosse mentions ('Notice..', no. 49) a fragment of an ossuary lid found in the lower row of kokhim in the hall of tomb 14 by de Saulcy; this

fragment was inscribed 'Isaac' ('Ytzhq'). The finds from full-scale clearances of the tombs are published by Rahmani. There were no coins, and only a few broken pieces of glass. Fragments of ossuaries were found in tombs 7, 9-11, 13, 14; there were also thick fragments from 7 and 14 which may belong to the large type of ossuary of heavy limestone (like my Part I,v, nos. 12-14) or possibly to sarcophagi. The pottery is Herodian (c. 40 BC - AD 70); the earlier forms - for instance spindle-bottles and early lamp types - are entirely absent.

The Doric capitals and antae of tomb 8 and the decoration on the tympanum of tomb 14 are debased forms which suggest a date c. AD 50 or even later for these tombs. The interior arrangements for burials are also highly developed; I note in particular the small compartments in the lower chambers of tomb 14, like those at the sides or ends of the double kokhim of the Tomb of Helena. The fragments of ossuaries and the pottery set the wider dating limits of c.40 BC to AD 70. On the tympanum of tomb 14 the acanthus cup and scroll, originally a Hellenistic motif, has become transformed into a style with a different aesthetic - a flat, crowded form which is stylised, but rich and confusing to the eye - a style which is specifically Jewish.

THE 'GRAPE' TOMB

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. Vincent RB, 1899, pp.297-304.
- R. A. S. Macalister PEQ, 1900, pp.54-61.
- C. Watzinger 'Denkmäler Palästinas', Vol. II, 1935,
pp.61-62.
- H. Vincent 'Jerusalem de l'Ancien Testament', Part I,
1954, pp.367-369.

DESCRIPTION

A large vestibule (fig. 351,I) leads to a hall with benches (fig. 351,II). Around the other three sides of the hall are burial-chambers with benches and kokhim (fig. 351, III, IV, V). But the 'kokh' in the centre of the far wall of chamber V is false; it is in fact a passage into chamber VI, which is more elaborately provided with arcosolia of the bench type. The alignments used in the tomb are faulty; but the mis-alignment between vestibule and hall is greatly exaggerated in fig. 351.

The facade of the tomb is in a vertical rock-face cut back twenty feet behind the original scarp of the cliff; thus a court - which is twenty-two feet across - is created before the tomb. The tomb entry is nine feet high and nearly eight feet wide; it has the Ionic T-frame form. The facade and its details are drawn on figs. 352, 353. The jambs are perfectly ordinary at the front; but on their side face (beneath the soffit of the entry-lintel) they are carved as pilaster capitals with a tall cavetto profile like that of tomb 8 at Sanhedriyye (Doric echinus). This tall, cavetto profile is adorned in three horizontal strips by the egg-and-dart, palmettes and rosettes. The soffit of the entry is carved with three coffers adorned with geometric and floral patterns - palmettes, rosettes, small leaves.

A pediment surmounts the entry (fig. 354). Its frame moulding is a quarter-round (Watzinger) which, like its dentils, is carried along the raking cornice, but not along the base of the pediment. Instead there is a strip of inverted eggs at the base. The ends of the lintel above the entry overlap the pediment, and the angle acroteria rest on the lintel, not on the pediment as they should. The three acroteria are on pedestals; the central, crowning one is an anthemion, the others are rosettes within wreaths (figs. 355-356). A row of dentils

with 'peculiar oblique terminations' (Macalister) is cut along the lintel. The tympanum is adorned at its centre with a rosette upon a pedestal. The rest of its surface is entwined with thin vine tendrils and clusters of grapes in the type of flat relief which is cut straight back onto the field. Above the rosette is a small palmette (fig. 354). We should note that the style used here is not the chip-cut style found on some tombs and so many sarcophagi and ossuaries, but low relief in a flat plane.

The cavetto of the pilasters or antae of the entry is carried as an epicranitis right round the vestibule. In each angle of the vestibule are pilasters which have capitals of uncertain profile and adorned by a row of small and plain paterae. The wall between the vestibule and the hall has been badly destroyed (fig. 351); only the remnant of a carved palmette finial indicates the form of its entry (fig. 353). The only other ornament found in the tomb was a sixteen-point rosette within a circular frame in the ceiling of the chamber with arcosolia.

The tomb had been thoroughly robbed. As a consequence the small finds were very few. There was no pottery apart from some Arab sherds (Macalister); no glass, no coins. Fig. 353 shows the fragment of a sarcophagus - a piece which is five

inches thick, as opposed to the one inch thickness of an ossuary - found by Macalister; Vincent found similar fragments.

I am inclined to date this tomb to the mid 1st century BC, largely because it shows no interest in the acanthus cup with tendril scrolls and the leaf-and-fruit motifs which were so popular from the time when the tympanum of the tomb of Jehosaphat was carved (c. 40 BC). It has the usual plan and burial-provisions of the Jewish tombs of a more elaborate sort at this time (infra Part III). It is however still dominated by the preference for stylised plant and geometric forms. The following departure from the Greek norms are to be noted as signs of provincialism to be contrasted with the relative purity of earlier tombs:

1. dentils are dropped from the entablature to the lintel.
2. the cyma of the Ionic mouldings is resolved into a quarter-round.
3. the pediment has too small a base, with the result that the acroteria are set upon the lintel.
4. the moulding of the raking cornice is not extended to the base-line of the pediment; instead we find a row of inverted eggs.
5. the pilaster-capital - a debased cavetto - is found only below the soffit of the entry, not on the facade itself.

THE TOMB WITH A FACADE OF TWO STOREYS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. Galling ZDPV, 1936, pp.111-123.
N. Avigad IEJ, 1951, pp.96-106.
H. Vincent 'Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament', Part I,
 1954, p.364 and fig. 104.

DESCRIPTION

The facade is drawn by Galling (ZDPV, fig. 4, 5), by Avigad (IEJ, fig. 8) and by Stève for Vincent (fig. 104). These drawings are all reproduced as my fig. 357. Unfortunately the original drawings either convey a blurred impression (fig.4) or fail to reproduce some details mentioned in Galling's text (fig. 5). The result is that the purely derivative drawing by Stève is inaccurate in some details. Avigad's drawing, which is based on Galling's text as well as his sketches, reproduces the details faithfully. The only observations of the tomb itself are those published by Galling; shortly after his clearances and measurements the facade was destroyed or buried. All other work must therefore rely on the accuracy of Galling's observations. Fortunately he emphasises that he took particular

care to check his measurements. He also says that he took several photographs, but these have never been published. It was necessary for him to undertake a clearance of the tomb, which did not go down very far below the ceiling of the vestibule. Restoration below this is conjectural. We have no knowledge of the interior of the tomb.

Only the right-hand side of the facade is preserved. This consists of a lower storey and an upper one, both rock-cut. Gallings's drawing of the actual state of the remains, as well as his reconstruction, is reproduced in my fig. 357. The facade had been distyle in antis; the right hand column and pilaster remained. The pilaster capital had a high and not very salient profile - two narrow fillets, Lesbian cyma, fillet, cavetto, abacus (Galling mentions two fillets at the base of the capital in his text, but draws only one). The column-shaft is unfluted; its capital is a tall, cavetto echinus with abacus. Above these supporting members is a very narrow architrave (only 7 cms.) and then a Doric triglyph-and-metope frieze with six conical guttae and a regula on the taenia below each triglyph. The glyphs are round-headed and without lateral bevels. They are crowned by a Lesbian cyma and a listel. In the surviving metopes are double rosette-paterae, viz. the

moulded form without petalling that we have already seen at the tomb of Helena (see too supra II, iv, 8-). Of these various details the very low architrave is the most conclusive sign of lateness in comparison with the other Doric forms at Jerusalem.

Of the upper storey only two pilasters survive. Only the left one has the finished form of its base-mouldings; these are a plinth, tall cyma, scotia, fillet, Lesbian cyma, narrow fillet (respectively 7, 8, 4, 5, 7, 2 cms.). Watzinger suggests that this is a debased form of the Attic base with torus forms transposed to cymas. This upper storey was never finished - the pilasters have no capitals, and the rock above them is only rough-hewn. The width of the central intercolumniation of the distyle lower arrangement has to be guessed in any restoration. This also applies to the entablature above it, which may or may not have been planned as a raking cornice.

The debased echinus of the Doric capital and the almost non-existent architrave of this tomb testify to its lateness. It is the only rock-carved tomb of Jerusalem with an unfinished facade. One is tempted to suggest that the work was interrupted by the Revolts of AD 66 or 132, and never resumed.

THE CAVE OF THE MOTHER OF COLUMNS

Mugharet Umm el-'Amed

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. de Vogüé 'Le Temple de Jérusalem' (Paris, 1864),
pp.47-48 (el-Messaneh)
- R. A. S. Macalister PEQ, 1904, pp.246-248 (Mugharet Umm
el-'Anab)
- C. Watzinger 'Denkmäler Palästinas', Vol. II, 1935,
p.66.
- N. Avigad IEJ, 1951, p.102, fig. 7.
- H. Vincent 'Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament',
pp.369-370.

The drawings of de Vogüé, Macalister, Avigad and Vincent are reproduced as my figs. 358, 359, 360, 361 respectively. Unfortunately while I was in Jerusalem the tomb was too near to the Arab-Israeli border to be investigated. I therefore rely entirely upon the above publications.

DESCRIPTION

The tomb facade is in a vertical rock-face cut back in order to provide an imposing court in front of the entry. Both the whole wall of the facade and the side-walls of the court have rock-cut imitation of masonry in horizontal courses with drafts of the type found on Herodian work like the Wailing Wall; the same imitation of a built structure or at least of revetments is found in the vestibule. The tomb is conceived of as the 'House of the Dead', as were some of the ossuaries (above Part I,i, nos. 43-50).

The present condition of the facade is shown by figs. 359, 361,V. Here it can be seen that the entry was a very wide opening flanked by antae, and that there are pilasters at the angles where the facade wall meets the side walls of the court. To the sides of the entry but not above it parts of a triglyph frieze and dentate cornice are preserved; these were carried the length of the facade wall. The capitals of the angle pilasters survive, and provide a form with a compressed cavetto and abacus, which is probably the same as that of the anta capitals; of the last only traces of the right-hand one survive. The column capitals have completely disappeared, but

clearances by Avigad revealed the base of the right-hand column still in situ. This has a normal Attic profile (with astragals) and is set upon a plinth. Avigad also found the base of the right anta, and this had a similar profile. But the only pilaster base which was cleared - only the right-hand part of the frontispiece was excavated - was unfinished. The frieze has elaborate rosettes in the metopes that survive; whether there was a special group of emblems at the centre of it, as at the tomb of Helena, is not known, since this part of the facade is destroyed. The triglyphs are carefully worked; they have square heads to the glyphs, and vertical bevels at the edges. Below each triglyph is a regula with six, conical guttae (figs. 360, 361,VII; not as 358). The architrave is low - about half the height of the frieze. Apart from the dentils and a dripstone soffit with trunnels the forms on the cornice seem to be in some doubt; no two published drawings or descriptions are the same. The trunnels were noticed by Avigad. They are not accompanied by mutules; and they are in groups of twelve, not the usual eighteen.

An entry in the rear wall of the vestibule now has the form of a large and irregular arch (fig. 361,V); the size of the original entry was probably a great deal smaller. From the vestibule one enters a large, square burial-chamber provided with benches and fifteen kokhim (some now altered). The centre kokh

of the far wall of this chamber is in fact a passage to a small chamber with four kokhim. Irregularities are due to later breaches (fig. 361,I).

Unfortunately partly owing to its badly ruined condition and partly because of the confused state of the publication of its details, there remain some important unresolved problems about this tomb. The form of the cornice profiles does not seem certain, and the order of the columns is not established. The column-base that survives is of surprisingly good Attic form compared with the debased cavetto of the pilaster-capital; the frieze too is carefully executed, and the use of trunnels on the soffit of the cornice is not found on any other Jerusalemite tomb. But the low architrave and conical guttae indicate a date c. 50 BC-AD 50 in the light of other Doric detail at Jerusalem. It is possible that a tomb on which such care was lavished - particularly in respect of the imitation of stone courses in the court and vestibule - was crowned by monumental forms; the topmost parts of the rock-cut arrangements are destroyed too badly to enable confirmation or refutation of such a theory. All the forms that survive are Greek ones of late Hellenistic style; this can even be said of the imitated revetment of stones (infra Part X).

A TOMB WITH TRIGLYPH FRIEZE AND IONIC CORNICE IN
THE NORTHERN NECROPOLIS OF JERUSALEM

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. Vincent RB, 1901, pp.448-452.
- R. A. S. Macalister PEQ, 1902, pp.118-120.
- C. Watzinger 'Denkmäler Palästinas', Vol. 2, 1935,
pp.64-65.
- H. Vincent 'Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament',
Part I, 1954, pp.363-364.

DESCRIPTION

I was unable to find this tomb while I was in Jerusalem, and am unable even to say whether it is still possible to examine its details first-hand. Mention should be made at once of a difficulty with the published material on which I rely for this section. This is that the drawings of the cornice-profiles of the facade do not harmonise with one another - neither the two published by Vincent (RB, 1901, p.451; 'Jérus. Anc. Test.', p.363), nor either of these with that of Macalister. I reproduce as my fig. 362 the drawings from 'Jérus. Anc. Test.' and from the PEQ, 1902.

The tomb came to light during quarrying in 1901. A clearance of the entry to the vestibule brought to light some cut stones and the fragments of a moulded cornice. The form of the structure - presumably some kind of tomb monument - to which these belonged cannot be recovered. In fact the fragments have not been published, and are mentioned only by Vincent.

The entry to the tomb has jambs, which take the form of antae. The capitals of these antae are made up of the following profiles - plate-band, fillet, torus, cavetto, abacus. Above them there is first a narrow architrave and then a Doric frieze. The triglyphs of the frieze have six conical guttae which are attached to the taenia without regulae. There are six triglyphs and five metopes (i.e., the angles are occupied by triglyphs). Four of the metopes are adorned with ornate rosettes; the central metope with a garland. Above the frieze is an Ionic cornice. The drawings of Vincent (Stève) and Macalister both represent the following succession of forms on this - an egg-and-dart, dentils, an undecorated moulding, a line of small adornments like consoles, a fillet, eggs again, and finally a tall palmette moulding. The eggs are carved on a torus and have the usual envelope; the form of the darts is not clear. According to both Stève

and Watzinger the plain moulding above the dentils is a cavetto. The console-like adornment is either upon an angular cyma reversa (Macalister) or one of good form (Stève). The palmette adorns either a cyma recta (Stève) or a cavetto (Macalister). For all of these points see fig. 362.

The interior of the tomb also has some interesting and unusual features. The vestibule (fig. 363,A) leads to a hall (fig. 363,D) from which there are entries to two square burial-chambers (fig. 363,C,E) and a burial-chamber on a lower level (fig. 363,B). The hall itself has two regular kokhim and a cruder kokh (fig. 363, kokh s) which must be a later addition since it is angled downwards to avoid chamber E. The three burial-chambers (C, E, B) proper are provided with bench-arcosolia on three sides. But in addition chamber E has three distinctive features:

1. an added kokh beside one of the arcosolia.
2. an arcosolium which is not the usual bench type, but has a rock-cut sarcophagus beneath its arched recess; there is a cyma frame-moulding on the front side of this sarcophagus.
3. the S. end of the sarcophagus opens into a small cage-like compartment, the entry to which is sealed by a closing-slab and concealed beneath the sarcophagus lid.

This is the most important chamber of the tomb. The rock-carved

sarcophagus was presumably for the tomb-founder. It is placed at the far limit of the tomb at the head of all other dispositions. But it did not escape the usual tomb-robbers! The only other tomb at Jerusalem with a rock-carved sarcophagus beneath an arcosolium is tomb 7 at Sanhedriyyeh (see Part I, v, 2 and 7 , no.8; II,v, 3).

The remains are disappointing - we seem to have lost a tomb-monument with Greek forms, and the cornice of the facade seems so worn that each investigator forms a different opinion as to much of its form. Nevertheless the basic fact emerges that this is another facade of Greek form, employing Greek members in the antae, frieze and cornice.

THE CONCH TOMB

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R. A. S. Macalister PEQ, 1900, pp.225-248; 1901,pp.145-158,
215-226. Description of sixty-six tombs
in the Wadi er-Rababi which were
systematically explored. No. 60 is the
tomb here described.

K. O. Dalman ZDPV, 1939, pp.190-208.
A more thorough study of the tomb.

The illustrations are drawings from Macalister (fig. 364)
photographs from Dalman (fig. 365) and his drawings (fig. 366)
together with my own photographs (figs. 367-375).

DESCRIPTION

The lower parts of the tomb-facade are still preserved on
its right-hand side (fig. 367). These show that:

1. A wide, flat band and a large quarter-round form the side
frame to the tomb-facade. The lowest part of this is also
preserved on the left. (figs. 367-369)

2. Part of the lintel and projecting jamb of a low side-entry on the right is preserved (figs. 367-369).

3. Part of a crowning conch-niche above a higher, central entry is still preserved together with the right-hand angle of the lintel (figs. 367; 365,1).

4. The facade of the tomb above these entries was a series of recessed and raised panels of rock-cut stone. The borders of two of these vertical panels, including a narrow one at the right end of the facade can be seen in the photographs. (figs. 367-369).

The reconstruction of Dalman (fig. 366,1) utilises these points. The assumption of corresponding adornments and entry on the left is natural. However the upper parts of the facade are not known. Dalman's reconstruction is one possibility - that the wide, flat face and wide quarter-round are carried across the top of the facade as a sort of 'cornice'. On the other hand the forms may have been less predictable or more ornate.

The three entries - a high central entry and two lower side entries - led into a wide vestibule. In the rear wall of the vestibule was a large and imposing entry with framing-mouldings (now hardly traceable fig. 367), which led to a

large burial-chamber (plan of tomb figs. 364; 366,4 and 5) a smaller chamber and a lower chamber (fig. 366,4). The burial provisions of the tomb are kokhim in both the upper chambers (fig. 365,2) and arcosolia of the bench type in the innermost upper chamber and in the lower chamber. The ceiling of the large upper chamber is a cupola adorned by a huge 'rosette' of thirty-two arms. The spandrels of the ceiling are adorned by large, stylised leaf-cups (figs. 370; 365,3). The left side-wall of the chamber has been destroyed by later alterations and enlargements, but the line of the epicranitis of fillet and cyma and the corner pilaster at this point give the angle where the wall returned (fig. 372). The central kokh of the right wall of the chamber has a high false-door (figs. 366,2; 373, 374) with Ionic T-frame mouldings and a pediment with urn-acroteria. Within the T-frame a false door of six panels - cut in the rock - is enframed by an arch. The lowest part of the 'false' door was a genuine opening - the closing-slab of the kokh. The panels of the false-door were enframed by the Lesbian cyma. In the rear-wall of the chamber was another door of the same type, but it has since been cut away to make a large entry (figs. 370, 371). Only its uppermost parts are preserved - the T-frame, pediment, acroteria. The left-hand urn-acroterion is the best preserved - in the tomb. The small chamber beyond this one (fig. 365,2) is highly unusual in the Jerusalem necropoleis - it has the

carved legs of a genuine kline below the bench of one of the arcosolia.

Dalman was very tentative in dating this tomb, and even questioned whether it was before AD 70 or AD 135. I am far more of the opinion that it is definitely pre-Herodian, perhaps even pre-Hasmonaeen. The types of decor found in the tomb are unusual and elegant. An early date is especially indicated by the kline form, close to its Macedonian and Alexandrian forebears. The false-door is also unusual, and it is local to this area of the Jerusalemite cemeteries (infra Part II,xii).

TOMBS IN SAMARIA

In using the name 'Samaria' here I am not referring to the city of Samaria-Sebaste, but to the region of Samaria, which is between Judaea and Galilee. Certain tombs in this area present the same burial-arrangements and forms of architecture as those which we have found supra Part II,i-x.

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| F. de Saulcy | 'Voyage...', 1865, Vol. II, pp.226-231 |
| M. V. Guérin | 'Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine', 2ème Partie, 'Samarie', vol. II, pp.90-104. |
| PEF | 'The Survey of Western Palestine', Memoirs, Vol. II, Samaria, 1882, pp.313-315, 337-340, 361-364, 374-378. |
| R. Savignac | RB, 1910, pp.113-127 |

DESCRIPTION

1. A tomb at Tibneh is described by de Saulcy ('Voyage..', pp.226-231) and Guérin ('Description..', pp.90-104; ground-plan and section opp. p.89) as 'The Tomb of Joshua'. De Saulcy describes two square pilasters with simple capitals in the vestibule facade; 'lamp-niches' in the walls of the vestibule; a chamber with benches on three sides and an array of 15 kokhim (five on each side) with a central kokh in the rear wall that leads to a small square chamber without appointments. In the 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine', pp.374-378, the tomb is described as having pilasters and two crude piers, the capitals being very simple mouldings. The tomb is of interest, but there is no detailed information available about its architecture to add to our growing body of material.

2. The title 'Deir ed-Derb' is given to a tomb described in the same volume of the Survey (pp.313-315 with drawings of ground-plan, section and frieze) and by Savignac (pp.23-7; my figs. 376-378). The tomb has a court, a vestibule, a central chamber and two side chambers. The vestibule is faced with false stone-work like 'The Cave of the Mother of Columns' North of Jerusalem (fig. 379). This is drafted, and mainly arranged in header-and-stretcher courses; it varies considerably

in character from that of the Jerusalem tomb. My fig. 377 is a photo of the undamaged column with its Ionic capital and of part of the triglyph-and-metope frieze above it, which has rosettes in the metopes; there is also part of an Ionic cornice with dentils preserved above this frieze. A cyma is represented both below and above the dentils, but of varying width and projection. The photo shows that below the triglyphs 8 guttae are attached directly to the taenia, which crowns a narrow architrave. At the corners of the vestibule entrance are antae; the profile is drawn (RB, p.127) as an astragal, two fillets, an ovolo, a cyma (or just cavetto?) and an abacus. The entablature is carried the whole width of the court (fig. 376) as also at Umm el-'Amed. The entrance between the vestibule and the main chamber was closed by a stone-slab and then a rolling-stone in a channel in the rock. The chamber is 4.40m by 4.50, and has a flat, irregular ceiling, a bench around 3 sides and 3 kokhim in the rear wall. The side-chambers have arcosolia. The one on the left has the front of its arcosolium benches carved out as the 'legs' of the Hellenistic funerary couch or kline.

3. At the site called Khirbet Kurkush in the 'Survey' and Khirbet el-Pakhakhir by Savignac (my fig. 379), the most imposing tomb (drawings p.338, 'Survey'; figs. 2-4, RB) has a distyle in antis frontispiece, and a vestibule which is 14'

across, and leads to a chamber about 9' square. At the rear of the chamber are 3 kokhim with rebates for closing-slabs and 'cushions' for the head of the corpse; a bench is left in front of the kokhim. There are also 2 arcosolia, one at each side of the chamber. The entrance between vestibule and chamber is adorned by a group of mouldings drawn from Greek art, but clearly of Jewish workmanship. These are a thin and debased bead-and-reel, a plate-band, a cyma, dentils and (only as a cornice over the door) an ovolo and a cavetto. Only the tops of the capitals of the two columns which once supported the facade remain, and traces of the bases; the capitals were Ionic. The left-hand pilaster capital has a fillet, ovolo, cavetto (high) and abacus; the other pilaster capital has the same mouldings in the same order but with slight variations in size. The base of the left-hand pilaster from its lowest point up consists of torus, scotia, torus (but the upper torus and the scotia seem crude), astragal and a very shallow, upside-down cavetto. The other base is different between the lower torus and the astragal. Its profiles here are fillet, short scotia, fillet and an indefinite thin strip. The 'architrave' or 'frieze' - it does not seem clearly defined - is adorned at the centre by a carved rosette flanked by two discs. Several other tombs here consist simply of a vestibule and a chamber with or without benches and with kokhim on three sides (see 'Survey', p.339, for ground-plans of tombs 2-5).

4. The group of tombs at Mokata Abud is published only by the 'Survey'. The tombs are mostly single chambers with kokhim and perhaps benches. No. 7 is a larger chamber with 4 kokhim on each of three sides and with a triglyph and metope frieze which has rosettes and discs in the metopes (no further detail is given). No. 3 is the most important. It has a vestibule with a chamber beyond to the rear and another to the right, both with kokhim. The vestibule is 19' across and has a frieze adorned with rosettes, grapes and leaves (drawing, p.362) and apparently some form of diglyph or triglyph. The right hand chamber is described as the most remarkable one found in the course of the 'Survey':

".. its walls being carefully cemented and painted in fresco .. Between the top of the kokhim and the roof of the tomb .. the design in the fresco .. consists of four lozenges, black, bordered with red, on a white ground, three red squares between; above comes a wavy festoon in red, yellow and white. Between the kokhim there are panels of red." The places for panels are also marked out on the wall without kokhim, and traces of red paint survive in one of the panels. The entry door to the chamber is framed by a Greek fret, which is carried all the way round, and by a short, awkward frieze, carved in the form of grapes and leaves hanging down from a vine (fig. 381).

Each of the tombs described in detail above is one of a group of tombs, whose similarity of burial arrangements and proximity to each other denote a common date. Kokhim and benches are most common, but arcosolia are also found.

These tombs indicate that the same styles and tastes which operated in this period at Jerusalem also dominated Samaria. In general the form and detail of the Samaritan work seems more provincial.

OTHER DECORATED TOMBS

That there were many other tombs with claims to distinction in their adornment is a natural assumption. There are scraps of information in some of the older publications. Of some interest are:

1. F. de Saulcy 'Voyage ..', 1865, Vol. II, pp.206-207.

A tomb near the tomb of the Judges (Sanhedriyye tomb 14,) with Ionic, T-frame mouldings surmounted by a small pediment. Within the T-frame a small arch is carved over the low opening to the tomb. Vincent visited the site, and reads the inscription:

'hmshkb hzh shlhsdyh'

'this is the tomb of Hasadiah'.

2. R. A. S. Macalister PEQ, 1901, pp.147-149, no. 38 and plan XV.

This tomb, called 'firdus er-Ram', has its vestibule carved away. But a series of large chambers still exists; the first two have ceilings in the form of flat domes, and false doorways with T-frame mouldings, a small pediment and carved door-panels. All of this is reminiscent of the 'Conch tomb' (supra Part II,x). The vestibule once had a distyle in antis facade, but in 1901 the columns were already gone. The burial provision is arcosolia.

3. *ibid.* pp.157-158, plan XXV, no. 56; a better plan and description of the main chamber in Delbrueck 'Hellenistische Bauten in Latium..', Vol. II, p.78, fig. 45 (called Hakeldama). (My fig. 382)

Tomb with a distyle portico. The main chamber has a domed ceiling. Fig. 382,B is the entry from the rear wall of the main chamber to a pair of chambers with arcosolia. Between the entries, which have T-frames and a high, cavetto cornice, is a half-column, carved from the rock; this is of a heavy and crude Ionic form.

4. D. G. Dalman 'Orte und Wege Jesu', 1924, fig. 47.

This is a photograph of a vestibule and facade in the Southern necropolis of Jerusalem. The facade is a tall and wide entry with Ionic, T-frame mouldings.

PART THREE

The aim of Part III of this work is to discover whether tomb-forms and burial-arrangements are of help in securing definite time-limits for the use of ossuaries and for the decorated tomb-facades discussed in Parts I and II - part of a sort of apologia for the assumptions of my early sections.

TOMB DISPOSITIONS AND BURIAL FORMS

A short catalogue of tombs at Jerusalem associated with ossuary finds follows together with some observations and conclusions. All of these tombs were published with plans and detailed descriptions, from which I draw the following selective information:

1. Open court, plain vestibule, chamber with benches and kokhim, chamber with benches and bench-arcoſolia. The second burial-chamber is entered through a false kokh in the rear wall of the first. (fig. 383)

Robbed; no pottery.

C. Schick, PEQ, 1890, pp.249-254.

2. Vestibule, plain hall, burial-chamber with benches and kokhim, burial-chamber with kokhim. (fig. 384)

Herodian lamps.

H. Vincent, RB, 1900, pp.106-112.

3. Four different systems of chambers opening off a wide and shallow vestibule, probably beyond an open court:

I chamber with double kokhim (i.e., of double width).

II elaborate system from a large hall; benches and kokhim of various types, including false kokhim which lead to further chambers, either plain or with benches.

III chamber with double kokhim (as I).

IV two small chambers with benches; the second chamber has kokhim of the normal (single) type. (fig. 386)

Conclusion: one can hardly escape the conclusion that the original tomb-system was II, that I and III were added soon after, and that IV is later. This implies that the type of doubled kokh found here is early (it is like that at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir - see too supra II,i,7 ; the form at the tomb of Helena is completely different).

Observations: this is in fact the tomb of the sons of Nikanor, in which the inscribed ossuary of my Part I,iii, no. 60 was found (fig. 385), together with six others (including fig. 93). The vestibule probably had a distyle in antis facade. A large sarcophagus (supra I,v,2) was found in system II, the earliest one - perhaps then it was the sarcophagus of Nikanor himself. The sarcophagus of Queen Helena was no more attractive. Note that the finding of an ossuary belonging to the two sons of Nikanor, the wealthy Alexandrian Jew who made the gates for the Herodian Temple, provides a definite historical peg for the

time when ossuaries were in use.

Lamps and pottery found, not published.

Dickson, PEQ, 1902, pp.326-332.

4. The whole group of tombs at Sanhedriyye has ground-plans based on vestibule, hall and burial-chambers about the hall - in the same 'cross' arrangement as at the tomb of the Bene Hezir (supra fig. 236), but with the ordinary form of single kokhim. Arcosolia are also used. (figs. 348, 350).

Herodian pottery.

See supra II,v, .

5. Single irregular chamber with kokhim (fig. 387)

Observation: all kokhim in use for storing ossuaries. Several must have been designed specifically for this, since they are too short for a corpse.

Pottery?

F-M. Abel, RB, 1913, pp.262-277.

6. Court, hall with benches, which leads to (a) a small chamber with benches only, (b) a plain, narrow chamber, (c) a chamber on a lower level with a bench at one end. (fig. 388).

Herodian lamp and globular bottle.

G. Orfali, RB, 1923, pp.253-261.

7. Unusual tomb, partly rock-cut, partly built walls and revetments. Hall and two burial-chambers with benches (fig. 389).

Observation: ossuaries were found in one chamber, bones on the benches of the other. Clearly initial burial was in one chamber, and later the bones were removed in an ossuary to the other chamber.

No pottery.

R. Savignac, RB, 1925, pp.253-266.

8. Chamber with kokhim, and a plain chamber below this.

Observation: kokhim held bones, lower chamber held ossuaries.

Conclusion: as 7.

No pottery.

E. L. Sukenik, Proc. JPES, 1925, pp.43-47.

9. Three chambers below each other - upper two with bench-arcosolia, lowest one with benches.

Observations: bones on the bench-arcosolia of both chambers, and three ossuaries. Five ossuaries on the benches of the lowest chamber had pushed aside bones - which presumably pre-date the use of ossuaries (fig. 390).

Herodian pottery.

ibid. pp.57-61; L. Y. Rahmani, Atiqot, Vol. III, 1961, pp.105-108.

10. Open court, chamber with benches and two bench-arcosolia, lower chamber which is plain. (fig. 391)

Observations: on the benches of the upper chamber were bones from three skeletons; in the lower chamber were twelve ossuaries.

Conclusions: body initially buried in the upper chamber, and later, after the decay of the flesh, transferred to an ossuary and the other chamber.

No pottery.

E. L. Sukenik, JPOS, 1928, pp.113-121.

11. Rough, square chamber with wide benches which have two bone-niches cut down in them at their angles. (fig. 392)

Conclusion: either simply a store-chamber for ossuaries, or originally the niches were used for the secondary burials before ossuaries came into use, and the benches for initial burials.

Herodian pottery.

E. L. Sukenik, Tarbitz (Hebrew), Vol. I, 1929-1930, pp.137-143.

12. Very similar to 11, but with a kokh and a grotto as well (fig. 393).

Observation: limestone ossuaries, clay ossuary, iron nails from wooden ossuaries.

Lamp forms which overlap with the later days of the Herodian bow-spouted lamp.

E. L. Sukenik, Tarbitz (Hebrew), Vol. I, 1929-1930, pp.122-124.

13. Open court, plain vestibule, plain hall, three small chambers which have benches on three sides (fig. 394).

No pottery.

E. L. Sukenik, JPOS, 1932, pp.22-31.

14. Reached by a diagonal, rock-cut shaft; chamber with benches and kokhim (fig. 395).

Observation: kokhim fully occupied by ossuaries.

No pottery.

ibid. pp.27-31.

15. Open court, plain vestibule-hall, burial-chamber with benches and kokhim (fig. 396).

Observations: ossuaries in two of the kokhim.

Pottery not drawn or illustrated, but said to be 1st century AD.
E. L. Sukenik, Tarbitz (Hebrew), Vol. VI, 1935-1936, pp.190-196.

16. Chamber with benches and kokhim.

Pottery second half of 1st century AD.

D. C. Baramki, QDAP, 1935, pp.168-169.

17. Plain chamber, partly rock-cut, partly built (fig. 397).

Pottery?

E. L. Sukenik, PEQ, 1937, pp.126-130.

18. Court, chamber with benches and kokhim (fig. 398).

Herodian pottery.

E. L. Sukenik, AJA, 1947, pp.351-365.

19. Off a small court opens a plain chamber and a chamber with benches and kokhim (fig. 399).

Observations: the plain chamber was a bone-chamber with a pit in which skulls etc. were found. Here the pottery was pre-Herodian; ossuaries were found in the chamber with kokhim (fig. 399).

Conclusions: Rahmani's conclusions are very important -

1. The chamber with kokhim and the bone-chamber were hewn out

in Hasmonaeen times.

2. reburial in ossuaries, associated with belief in bodily resurrection, began in early Herodian times.

3. a special short and deep kokh was used to store the ossuaries.

Pottery pre-Herodian and Herodian.

L. Y. Rahmani, IEJ, 1958, pp.101-105.

20. Benches, kokhim, ossuaries and Herodian pottery are constantly associated at the cemetery of 'Domunus flevit' (systems 42-50, 52-58, 65-80, 82-92, 93-99, 294-301, 355-369, 370-376, 384-389, 427-438). The ossuaries are sometimes stored in kokhim, sometimes on benches, sometimes in a special compartment or small chamber. In complex 427-438 alone the provision for ossuary storage is a wide kokh, a special chamber, a small compartment and some short kokhim. The 95 Herodian lamps and 86 piriform or globular unguentaria found at the cemetery were from the kokhim type of tombs only, not the later tombs with trough arcosolia. Some of the kokhim systems are far more developed than others, and were in use longer. But all have the same pottery forms without any later wares. This significantly underlines the abandonment of the tombs in AD 70 or AD 135. (See DF, end-plan; my figs.400-401 are of systems 42-50, 52-56, 65-80.)

Herodian pottery.

B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik, 'Gli Scavi del 'Dominus flevit', 1958.

21. Chamber with benches; central pit has a sector divided off for bones (fig. 402).

Observations: bones of two skeletons were on the benches, together with ten ossuaries.

Conclusions: it seems that before the use of ossuaries bones were re-buried in the central pit.

Herodian pottery.

N. Avigad, IEJ, 1962, pp.1-12.

22. Unique tomb-form with pits; ossuaries found with lamps of the 3rd century AD and other homogeneous wares (fig. 403).

Conclusion: Kohavi concludes that a Jewish family which has retained its tradition of ossuary burials has returned to Jerusalem in the 3rd century AD.

M. Kohavi, pp.41-42 in Y. Aharoni 'Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962', Rome, 1964.

This catalogue permits some interesting conclusions to be formed. It must be remembered that the common factor for all the tombs of this section is the fact that ossuaries were found in them.

All of the tombs are entirely rock-cut except for nos. 7 and 17, which have walls that are built in part. The only other examples that I know of with built walls or revetments are a tomb excavated by Mayer in the Kedron Valley at Jerusalem (L. A. Mayer, Bulletin V, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1924, pp.56-60) and one found by Clermont-Ganneau at Lydda (Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeolog. Res. in Palestine... 1873-1874', Vol. II, 1896, pp.341-350).

The tombs which consist of a single chamber only are nos. 5, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22. Of these the completely plain chamber (no. 17, fig. 397) must have been designed simply for the storage of ossuaries, like a chamber of the same type found by Clermont-Ganneau (supra I, ii, 3). Nos. 11 and 21 are very similar - chambers with benches and small pits for bones (figs. 392, 402). No. 12 is similar to no. 11, but has in addition a kokh and a small, natural grotto which is slightly worked (fig. 393). No. 5 is an irregular chamber with kokhim (fig. 387); nos. 14, 16 and various complexes of no. 20 are

single chambers with benches and kokhim (figs. 395; 400,401). Note particularly how various kokhim of complex 65-80 at 'Dominus flevit' have been transformed to storage chambers for ossuaries (fig. 401).

Tombs with more than one chamber usually have some sort of rock-cut court as an approach (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 15, 18; figs. 383, 386, 348, 350, 388, 391, 396, 398). But no. 14 is unusual in being reached by a diagonal, stepped ramp or shaft (fig. 395). Another common feature of tombs with more than one chamber is to enlarge the approach to the burial-chambers by means of a vestibule or a central hall or both (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15). Both of these are left plain. Only no. 6 is an exception to this; here it seems that the vestibule-cum-hall also served as a burial-chamber, since it is provided with benches. The common arrangement is to have the hall directly behind the vestibule, and then the burial-chambers behind and at the sides of the hall. The only burial-arrangements found are benches, kokhim and arcosolia of the bench-type (nos. 12, 3, 6, 7, 13, 15; figs. 382, 384, 386, 388, 389, 394, 396) with one exception. These terms must be explained as:

1. Benches - an oblong pit is sunk in the floor of the chamber, but around it the floor-level is left untouched, forming a continuous 'bench' right around the walls.

2. Kokhim - almost the equivalent to 'loculus', but a specifically Jewish form. It is a low, horizontal shaft or tunnel sunk through the rock at right-angles to the face of the wall. In most cases a kokh is just wide enough to take a corpse or an ossuary; in some tombs kokhim of double width are found, or the kokhim are enlarged into small compartments for the storage of ossuaries.

3. Arcosolia - arched recesses set about waist-high in the tomb wall, and covering its entire length, rather as though an arch were set over the bench. The corpse lay upon a bench below the arch in all cases in the tombs which held ossuaries; the single exception to this form of the arcosolium will be dealt with below.

The 'cross-plan' already noticed at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir is found in tomb no. 13 (fig. 394), and was apparently projected but abandoned in tomb-system no. 3 (fig. 386). Another unfinished plan is that of tomb no. 18 (fig. 398). In some more complex systems plain chambers are found, which much have served as storage-chambers for ossuaries. The chambers of the tomb are often at more than one level, as with no. 3 (comparative levels of systems I, II, III) and nos. 6, 8 and 9 (figs. 386, 388, 390). In one case the system

of chambers is in a straight line of succession, but the axis gradually descends (no. 1; fig. 383 section); The most elaborate system is that of no. 3; this well deserves to be associated with the family of Nikanor (fig. 386). Here the earliest system (II) comes close in overall plan and in the form of its kokhim (double) to the Tomb of the Bene Hezir (fig. 236); and systems I and III share the same type of kokhim. Other tombs do not have this array of very wide kokhim around the chamber. In fact the double width kokh is seldom found at all. In a few cases it occurs in a tomb which has the normal, single form, but requires additional space for the storage of ossuaries. To this end one or more, but by no means all, of the kokhim may be widened (e.g., figs. 396, 398, 400). But a plan of the same type as systems I, II and III of this tomb is met with, as far as I know, only at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir, as was mentioned just above. The nearest comparable example is at the Tomb of Helena. Here some of the kokhim are doubled in a different type of form - a regular, squared shape with a central groove along the length of the kokh (fig. 317).

The precise details of the burial-forms from the catalogue are:

kokhim 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20.

bench-arcosolia 1, 4, 9, 10

benches 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21 for chambers with benches only; but benches are found in almost all chambers with kokhim.

The prevalence of kokhim is to be explained by the fact that they were quicker and cheaper to hew out than arcosolia. In one chamber at 'Dominus flevit' is found the solitary exception to these three forms. In complex 65-80 we find the period of use of kokhim at Jerusalem beginning to overlap with the introduction of the trough-arcosolium. This is distinct from the bench-arcosolium in having not a bench but a rock-hewn 'sarcophagus' beneath its arched recess; this 'sarcophagus' is simply a rough-hewn, oblong hole for the reception of the body. It has no form of ornament or elaboration, but seems to be a development from the more refined and ornate form of rock-carved sarcophagus, which we saw beneath arcosolia in tomb 7 at Sanhedriyyeh (Part I,v, no. 8), in a chamber within the ornate tomb discussed in Part II, fascicle ix above (II,ix,3) and in one of the Samaritan tombs (Part II, xi,3). In complex 65-80 at 'Dominus flevit' we find the usual chamber with benches and kokhim. But two of the kokhim have been enlarged to form troughs beneath arches (trough-arcosolia). This must have occurred while the kokhim of the tomb were still in use, since

kokh no. 70, in which four ossuaries were stored, can only have been carved out after the troughs (fig. 401, where 67-69 are the troughs, and 70 is the kokh). Since the pottery and palaeography show (see *infra* Part IV) that this cemetery was abandoned in AD 135, we may therefore assume that the kokh was the standard form here until that date, but that the trough-arcosolium was just making its appearance. The seventeen other complexes with kokhim at 'Dominus flevit' have no arcosolia and are constantly associated with Herodian pottery. The sixty-six complexes with trough-arcosolia are never associated with ossuaries, or Herodian pottery, or kokhim, but are dated - after an abandonment of the cemetery in AD 135, - by pottery and coins to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Thus the kokh is to be associated with ossuaries and with the Herodian pottery group in having the terminal date of AD 135, and a main period of use up to AD 70 and the disaster for Jerusalem of the First Revolt.

But kokhim were in use before ossuaries, as is shown by no. 19 of the catalogue of tombs. Here a bone-chamber was used, and is associated with pre-Herodian pottery in the form of local late Hellenistic wares (notably lamps and the fusi-form unguentarium). The pottery indicates that a kokhim chamber was hewn out in Hasmonaeen times on one side of a small court,

and a bone-chamber on another side. When re-burial in ossuaries had its inception they were kept in the kokhim chamber, and not transferred to the bone-chamber. The result is that only the earlier pottery forms are found in the bone-chamber. A special, short and deep kokh was used to store the ossuaries. Rahmani has recently excavated another tomb with the same features. In this case the South chamber was in use as a bone-chamber in Hasmonaeen times, but the North tomb, a short distance away from the other, took over the South one as a storage chamber for ossuaries. The North tomb began its use in early Herodian times (L. Y. Rahmani, *Eretz Yisrael*, Sukenik Volume, 1967, pp.186-192 in Hebrew). The tomb of Jason showed us the same picture at an earlier time in the Hasmonaeen period, and just coming into the Herodian one. No ossuaries were found there. It was robbed about 37 BC and collapsed under the stress of the earthquake of 31 BC, which is conveniently recorded for us by Josephus (see *supra* Part II,ii,6). Its kokhim were carved about 100 BC, not a great deal later than those at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir.

One tomb which might have proved puzzling has been very sensibly interpreted by Kohavi (no. 22). Here neither the burial-forms (pits or troughs) nor the pottery (lamps of the

3rd century AD), which is homogeneous, conform to the time when ossuaries were in use in other Jerusalemite tombs.

Kohavi interpreted the situation as the return of a family expatriated from Jerusalem, which had retained its tradition of ossuary burials.

We may summarise the situation as follows in respect of burial-forms:

1. Kokhim were already in use in Jerusalem in the 2nd century BC, and continued in use right through to the time of the two Revolts against Rome (AD 66-70; AD 132-135).
2. Bench-arcosolia were in use more sparingly at the same period. Occasionally a type with the face below its bench adorned with framing cyma and possibly rosettes is found in the 1st century AD. One instance of the trough-arcosolium can be dated as early as c. 130 AD, but the finds at 'Dominus flevit' conclusively show that this form was not in use in the 1st century AD.
3. Ossuaries began to be used just as Herodian wares came into fashion.
4. Plain benches were in use throughout this period, just as they were at earlier dates.

5. All of these are used both for the initial burial of the corpse, and also as storage space for ossuaries. Kokhim are often widened in order to store ossuaries, and some kokhim are so short that they must be intended specifically for ossuary re-burials.

6. The systematic use of double-width kokhim of the type found in the Tomb of the Bene Hezir and the Tomb of the sons of Nikanor seems early. (Those in the Tomb of Helena are of a very different form.)

This helps us to date the tombs examined above in Part II of this work as belonging en bloc to the period before the Revolts. The criteria derived from tomb-form and types of burial-arrangement may be regarded by some as more objective than the details of style. Full accounts of the interiors of the decorated tombs were given in the fascicles devoted to them. Briefly these are as follows:

Tomb of the Bene Hezir (II,i)

2nd century BC

Vestibule.

Central hall.

Three burial-chambers with benches, to which double-width kokhim have been irregularly added.

One burial-chamber with bench-arcosolia, the innermost chamber of the tomb and perhaps a later addition to the plan.

Fig. 236

Tomb of Jason (II,ii)

c. 100 BC

Three courts form a monumental approach.

Vestibule.

Off the vestibule are a burial-chamber with tall, regular, flat-headed kokhim of the single type, and a bone-chamber.

Fig. 272.

Conch Tomb (II,x)

early 1st century BC?

Court.

Vestibule.

Chamber which serves at once as a hall and a burial-chamber with kokhim and tall false doors.

Beyond this is a burial-chamber with bench-arcosolia (Bogenbankganggräber), kokhim and a bone-compartment.

At a lower level is a second burial-chamber with bench-arcosolia.

The internal architectural decor is shared with II,xii, no. 2.

In the upper chamber the bench-arcosolia have carved, false legs in imitation of the kline or burial-couch.

Figs. 364-366

Tomb of 'Jehosaphat' (II,i)

c. 40 BC

The basic plan is the 'cross'
 chamber
 chamber hall chamber
 court

as found at the Tomb of the Bene Hezir, but without a vestibule. In one chamber only are the normal, single

kokhim found, and this is really an additional vestibule to two more burial-chambers (later three).

The other burial-arrangements are bench-arcosolia and rectangular recesses which are not found elsewhere.

Fig. 264 (A, B, C, F, G are the original plan)

Tomb of the Herods (II,iii)
c. 35 BC

Same Hellenistic 'cross' plan as above. Contrast the native tradition of the Tomb of Jason, which compares with no. 19 of my catalogue.

passages
chamber
chamber hall chamber
vestibule

No burial-provisions of any kind are found; sarcophagi and ossuaries stood upon the floor.

Fig. 277

Cave of the Columns (II,viii)

Court.

Vestibule.

Large burial-chamber with
benches and kokhim.

Small burial-chamber with
kokhim.

The plan is of a succession
of chambers in direct line.

Fig. 361

The 'Grape' Tomb (II,vi)

The Hellenistic 'cross' plan
once more.

chamber

chamber hall chamber chamber
vestibule

court?

The hall has benches; the
three burial-chambers off the
hall have benches and kokhim;
the innermost burial-chamber
has bench-arcosolia.

This corresponds almost
exactly to the plan of the
Tomb of the Bene Hezir; only

the chamber with bench-
arcosolia is differently
disposed.

Fig. 351

Doric-Ionic Tomb (II,ix)

Court.

Vestibule.

Hall (with two kokhim).

Three burial-chambers with
bench-arcosolia and one kokh.

One of the arcosolia has a
rock-cut 'sarcophagus' with
framing cyma. The arrangement
is a variation on the 'cross'
with one burial-chamber below
the vestibule.

Fig. 363.

Tombs of the Judges (II,v)

No. 4 of my catalogue.

Figs. 348, 350.

Tomb of Helena (II,iv)

c. 60 AD

A complex development of the
Hellenistic plan; court, vesti-
bule, central hall and eight

burial-chambers at two levels.
 The burial-arrangements are:
 ordinary single kokhim;
 small chamber with benches for
 ossuaries;
 special, double-width kokhim
 with small compartments added
 at the side or end;
 passages with bench-arcosolia
 at the sides and end
 (Bogenbankganggräber);
 benches in all upper chambers;
 a stepped bench.

Figs. 317, 318

Two Storey Tomb (II,vii)

Interior unknown.

Samāritan tombs (II,xi)

Mokata Abud

Court, vestibule-cum-hall, two
 chambers with kokhim, Fig. 381.

Deir-ed-Derb

Court, vestibule and three
 burial-chambers, of which one
 has benches and kokhim, the two
 others have benches and bench-
 arcosolia. Fig. 404A

Khirbet Kurkush

Vestibule with bench-arcosolia, one inner chamber with a bench below three kokhim and on a side-wall a bench-arcosolium.

Fig. 404B.

Ground-plans of other tombs at Kh. Kurkush are given in fig. 404C. The burial-forms are benches and kokhim.

We see that the burial-arrangements - benches, kokhim and bench-arcosolia - of each of these tombs confirm the dates assigned to them on other grounds, including stylistic detail (supra II,i, 25 f.).

The kokh is simply a particular form of the Hellenistic loculus. This occurs at Alexandria and in the Phoenician cities before it is found in Palestine, where the earliest example is the Tomb of Apollophanes (infra Part VI, tomb 1), mausoleum of Sidonian settlers at Marisa in the Shephela. The inscriptions above the loculi of this and other tombs nearby date the necropolis to a period beginning about the end of the 3rd century BC. Its earliest tombs have gabled loculi, whereas

only square-headed or arched kokhim are found at Jerusalem. The position as regards the bench-arcosolium is not so clear. In my opinion it is an imported form derived from the kline niche of Alexandria (see Part X), but modified by the native, Palestinian tradition of a tombechamber with benches or 'divans'. That it is derived from the kline is indicated by the arcosolium with false legs found in the Conch tomb (II,x,4). I am unable to say whether its use in Palestine is as early as the kokh, though I suspect that it is not. It is quite possible, for instance, that the arcosolium-chamber of the Tomb of the Bene Hezir was added to the other arrangements at some date not much later. The native Palestinian Iron Age employed a different form - a single chamber with benches and central pit. This is found for instance in the 'Philistine' tombs excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie at Beth Pelet near Beer Sheba, and in tombs at Beth Shemesh ('Ain Shems) which were published by Mackenzie. The form is very simple and plain, being without additional compartments or chambers. Thus it is not only the kokh (loculus) and arcosolium (recessed kline) which are Hellenistic importations to Jerusalem, but also the system with various approaches, a grandiose exterior, vestibule and hall, architectural decor applied to the interior, chambers which vary in the importance of their burial-provisions and a plan which forms the shape of

a cross or a variation of this. The cross-plan is first known in Palestine in the Tomb of Apollophanes at Marisa. The earliest example of its occurrence at Jerusalem is the tomb of the Bene Hezir; for other examples see the catalogue nos. 3, 4 and 13, and the Tomb of 'Jehosaphat', the Tomb of the Herods, the 'Grape' Tomb and the Doric-Ionic Tomb (supra III,20-22). On the other hand tombs like nos. 11 and 21 of my catalogue simply continue a native Iron Age tradition. The use of ossuaries involved the development of various types of enlarged kokhim - kokhim widened into small compartments and short, wide kokhim - and the use of special storage chambers which might even be separate from the tomb where initial burials were made.

Nos. 38 and 56 of the tombs explored by Macalister in the Hinnom Valley (Wadi er-Rababi) offer a distinctive arrangement (supra II,xii, nos. 2 and 3; my figs. 405A and 405B). The bench-arcosolia are in pairs at the sides of the passage, a form called by Gallinger the Bogenbankganggrab. (K. Gallinger, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1936, pp.73-101; p.78). These two tombs and the 'Conch' Tomb share the use of domed ceilings and internal false-doors or other internal architectural decor. I am inclined to think that the whole group is early in the 1st century BC.

We must note in passing that Goodenough badly misdates (JS, Vol. I, pp.76f) a tomb near the Damascus Gate which has a long, vertical shaft leading down to a tiny cell adorned by painted frescoes, and below this three trough-graves. This is of the same form as the shaft-tombs excavated nearby by Hamilton and Hussein (QDAP, 1935, pp.170f) and belongs not to Jewish Jerusalem but to pagan Aelia Capitolina. It was robbed of pottery. The original publication is F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie 'Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897', 1898, pp.243-249.

APPENDIX

The ossuaries presented in Part I and the tombs described in Parts II and III supra of this work are almost all from Jerusalem itself and the villages nearby. Tombs with ossuaries are known on the Mount of Olives, including Ras el-Amud, Bethphage, Bethany, Viri Galilaei, Aqabat es-Suwan; on Mount Scopus, including the site of the Hebrew University and the village of Isawiyyeh; in the area North of the Damascus Gate, including Rujm el-Kahakir and the Tomb of Helena; in the modern Jewish quarters, including Nahalath Ahim, Mahanaim and Sanhedriyyeh; more sparsely in the area West of Jerusalem, including one notable find, the tomb at Nicophorieh, and a tomb at Wa'r Abu es-Safa, which is 2 kms. W. of Jerusalem; to the South of the Old City at Gallicantu, in the Kedron Valley, Wadi er-Rababi (the Hinnom Valley), Wadi en-Nar, Wadi Yasul, Silwan village, Abu Tor, Talpiot, Jebel er-Ras, Jebel el-Mugabber, Khallet et-Turi, Qarm esh-Sheikh. Not much further away the same finds have been made at Shafat, er-Ram and Jifneh, at Abu Gosh, at Ramat Rahel and at the village of 'Ain Karim. In all these places the tombs and the small finds have produced the unanimous testimony analysed above - that the ossuaries are associated with the Herodian pottery group

(c. 40 BC-AD 70 or 135) with inscriptions dated to the same period and with particular sorts of burial-forms which fell out of use in pagan Jerusalem after AD 135.

Further away from Jerusalem, however, the cultural situation was different. Ossuaries may have continued in use in the Jewish villages. Excavations have been conducted at Tell en-Nasbeh (13 kms. N. of Jerusalem), in the coastal plain to the West at Gezer, Beit Jibrin (Marisa), Lod (Lydda) and Joppe (Tel Aviv). Finds have been made at Bethlehem and Hebron, and in the Palestinian Rift at Jericho. On the East bank of the Jordan ossuaries have only been found in the Peraea at Kh. el-Mukayyat near the Dead Sea. In the Plain of Esdraelon, beyond Samaria, and in Galilee discoveries have been made at Kefar Baruch, Haquq (Huqoq), el-Jish, and Nazareth. This appendix is added here in order to examine these finds.

The nearest locality to Jerusalem is Tell en-Nasbeh, which was excavated by Badé and McCown (infra bibliography). Here tombs 4, 6, 8, 14 and 71 are of interest:

Tomb 4 : kokhim, a coin of Herod Archelaus (4 BC-AD 6).

Tomb 6 : kokhim, ossuary fragments, ten bow-spouted, Herodian lamps, and later pottery.

Tomb 8 : vestibule, chamber with kokhim; robbed.

Tomb 14: two roughly cut chambers with benches but no kokhim
ossuary no. 7 of my catalogue (supra I,i,), three
Herodian lamps, Iron Age pottery.

Tomb 71: kokhim, ossuaries, glass 'candlestick' bottles.

The early pottery in tomb 14 harmonises with the traditional form of the chamber, which is roughly squared and has only the pit-and-bench arrangement for burials. As already mentioned, the same form was found nearby at 'Ain Shems by Mackenzie. At 'Ain Shems tomb 2 is the least equivocal example - a low entry into a single chamber with benches around three sides and a central pit. Only Iron Age pottery was found here, whereas the pottery of tomb 14 at Tell en-Nasbeh indicates continued use (but without the bother of adding kokhim) in the Herodian period. Of the other tombs the evidence from nos. 4 and 6 is clear, and concurs with that found at Jerusalem; no. 6 continued in use for a longer period, but there is no reason to associate either its ossuaries or its kokhim with the later period.

Not far from Tell en-Nasbeh, but at the Western tip of the Shephelah, where the coastal plain begins, is the mound of Gezer. It is the excavations and conclusions of Macalister

at this site that have confused various scholars into dating the Herodian lamp and the ossuaries over a much wider period than is necessary. The problem is that the Herodian lamp and the ossuaries were found in the tombs here at the beginning of the century - before close dates had been established for them - in confused, robbed and non-homogeneous contexts without stratification and with the Herodian types mixed in with late Roman and Byzantine pottery. Ossuaries were found in tombs 13, 20, 24, 76, 99, 117, 118, 124, 127, 131, 134, 154, 189, 218, 224. The Herodian lamp was found in nos. 76, 124 and 189, all of which were kokhim tombs. The ceramic content of these tombs is examined more closely in Part IV of this work. Suffice it to say here that the evidence is too confused to be of much value, but there is of course a possibility that ossuaries continued to be used by Jews at Gezer after the expulsion from Jerusalem.

Recent excavations by Oren - as yet published only in a preliminary form - have brought to light in the region of Beit Jibrin (Marisa) in the Shephela a total of fifty-two tombs with benches, loculi and very similar dispositions of chambers. Scores of decorated ossuaries containing bones were found. These ossuaries and small niches in the floors and walls are associated with the Herodian pottery forms (and slightly later

wares?) once more, whereas the pottery from the loculi is pre-Herodian and begins in the 3rd century BC (for further details infra Part VI).

At Lydda Clermont-Ganneau discovered a tomb which is hypogean, but faced throughout with hewn stones (supra III,). It is of the usual form - a square chamber with kokhim and fronting on an open court. Fragments of plain ossuaries were found, and one which is crudely decorated and bears a long, Greek inscription (supra I,iii, no. 233). The interior of the tomb was not cleared; the pottery content is not known. The tombs referred to above near Joppe were found at Khirbet Suweilima by Kaplan; fragments of painted ossuaries and the usual kokhim were unearthed. At Bethlehem a kokhim chamber with three ossuaries is published by Bagatti. Recent excavations by the British School at Jericho brought to light a few ossuaries in a mainly Bronze Age cemetery; the ossuaries were discovered in two re-opened Bronze Age tombs (G2 and J41) and in two tombs with benches and kokhim (H23 and K23) of which H23 was the more regular (fig. 406). Our knowledge of the Transjordanian tomb with kokhim, ossuaries and Herodian lamps is derived from explorations by Saller at Kh. el-Mukayyat.

The Jewish settlement much further North in the Esdraelon Valley and the hills of Galilee is marked by similar finds. Two rock-cut, hypogean tombs discovered near Kefar Baruch in the Plain of Esdraelon held pottery of the early 2nd century AD. In one of them was an inscribed ossuary (supra I, iii, no. 234), which was one of five plain ossuaries from a chamber without burial-provisions, closed by a rolling-stone. The other parts of the tomb were a vestibule and a kokhim chamber. The other tomb was simply a large kokhim chamber, in which more plain ossuaries were discovered. At Haquq three single-chamber tombs with kokhim and pottery of the late 1st century AD and early 2nd century AD were found. In one of these were more undecorated ossuaries of the type from the tomb near Kefar Baruch. Kahane suggests that such crude ossuaries post-date the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, when many skilled craftsmen must have died. My ossuary photograph no. 178 is of the same type. Contrast the smooth chisel-marks of photographs nos. 179 and 180.

In Galilee the finds have mainly been at Nazareth. Richmond excavated a tomb here in 1930 with pit, benches and kokhim, and with lamp-forms which I judge to be of the late 1st century AD (the moulded and decorated, bow-spouted forms) and the 2nd century AD. Kopp says that eighteen kokhim tombs

are known at Nazareth, which we may compare with Gallings' rough estimate of one hundred and sixty at Jerusalem. Of the tombs described by Kopp nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17 are well-preserved chambers with kokhim. Of all these only no. 6 has its pottery published; it was taken by Mansur to the local Franciscan museum and is described by Bagatti (tomb no. 70 of his list) as ranging from Herodian, wheel-made, bow-spouted lamps right through to 7th century AD wares. Evidently the tomb was in long and continuous use. Most of the other tombs have been investigated, but not cleared. The largest complex is Kopp's no. 13 (Bagatti's no. 77) which is three connected chambers with twenty-four kokhim. Presumably there are fragments of ossuaries in many of these tombs, but the only find to date seems to be decorated fragments in the Greek property just S.W. of Nazareth. An ossuary in the Franciscan museum at Nazareth is of uncertain origin, possibly from Capernaum. One particular Galilean find stands out as being late. At el-Jish two tombs were discovered with ossuaries of the plain, crude sort already noticed at Haquq and Kefar Baruch. The pottery and glass was dated to the 4th-5th century AD. One of the tombs was a small chamber with one kokh and a compartment for its ossuaries, which were six in number. The other tomb is a long chamber with sixteen kokhim and a widened kokh which housed a

plain sarcophagus. In one of the kokhim was a crude ossuary.

Thus in general terms the tombs outside the immediate area of Jerusalem confirm that the earliest use of the ossuaries and kokhim was associated with the Herodian pottery group. But in Esdraelon and Galilee the earliest finds seem to be just after AD 70, which admirably harmonises with the known shift of the Jewish population of Palestine from Jerusalem to the North. Some tombs in Galilee, and seemingly at Tell en-Nasbeh and Gezer, indicate that kokhim and ossuaries continued in use into the period after the Second Revolt. The find at el-Jish of homogeneous pottery of the 4th or 5th centuries with kokhim and crude ossuaries is especially striking. The indications from these sites beyond the area of Jerusalem and its surrounding villages do not affect the dating of Herodian pottery wares, ossuaries and burial-forms at Jerusalem itself.

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PART FOUR

This part of my work examines pottery wares, glass and a few coins which were found in forty-two tombs at Jerusalem. Almost all of these tombs both contained (fragments of) ossuaries, and were of the kokh form. An examination of the following bibliography and of the tomb catalogue with Part III above will show that a number of them were included in that catalogue. My object is to present an inventory of pottery, glass and coins from tombs which have been carefully excavated and fully published; to investigate the recurrence of these wares in properly stratified excavations at Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine; and to discuss in detail the most significant of them for dating purposes, and the dates which should be assigned to them.

A brief assessment of the palaeographic contribution to dating is also offered here.

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dates and typology of the Herodian lamp;
an attempt to establish variations in
form and date is made.

3. Bibliography of excavations:

Jerusalem

- R. A. S. Macalister
and J. G. Duncan PEF Annual, IV, 1926; 'Excavations on
the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem, 1923-1925'.
No stratification, but notice lamps 1 and
2 on pl.XXI.
- R. W. Hamilton QDAP, I, 1931, pp.105-110: 'Street
Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley'.
Espy. pp.97-98, 109 (pottery), 110
(levels). See too idem QDAP, II, p.37
for a diagrammatic section of the street
levels.

IV, bibliography

- idem QDAP, X, 1944, pp.1-54: 'Excavations against the North Wall of Jerusalem, 1937-1938'. For Sounding B pottery pp.29-34 and figs. 14-16; Sounding C fig. 20 compares with fig. 14
- C. N. Johns QDAP, XIV, 1950, pp.121-190: 'The Citadel Jerusalem - a summary of work since 1934'. Espy. pp.135-136; 139; 140f on the Herodian period.
- Jericho
- J. B. Pritchard AASOR, XXXII-XXXIII, 1958: 'The Excavation at Herodian Jericho, 1951'. Pottery and coins pp.21-28; interpretation p.56. The wares are piriform unguentaria, lamps, large jars, bowls, cooking-pots, juglets, flasks, sigillata wares.
- Khirbet Qumran, the Qumran Caves, 'Ain Feshkha
- R. de Vaux RB, 1953, pp.83-106: 'Fouille au Khirbet Qumran. Rapport préliminaire'. Pottery pp.96-101.

IV, bibliography

- idem ibid. pp.540-561; 'Exploration de la région de Qumran'. Investigations in 37 caves or hollows.
- idem RB, 1954, pp.206-236: 'Fouilles au Kh. Qumran. Rapport préliminaire sur le deuxième campagne'. Levels distinguished are I, II, III; pottery on pp.215f.
- idem RB, 1956, pp.533-577: 'Fouilles de Qumran. Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e et 5e campagnes'. Levels distinguished are Ia, Ib, II, III.
- idem RB, 1959, pp.225-255: 'Fouilles de Feshkha. Rapport préliminaire'. Levels are found contemporary with periods I, II and III of Kh. Qumran.
- idem pp.3-41 in 'Les "petites grottes" de Qumran' ('Discoveries in the Judaean Desert', III, 1962.)
Pottery pp.3-41.
- D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik 'Qumran Cave I' ('Discoveries in the Judaean Desert', I, 1955).
Pottery pp.8-13

IV, bibliography

The Caves of Murabba'at

R. de Vaux

RB, 1953, pp.245-267: 'Les Grottes de Murabba'at et leurs documents. Rapport préliminaire'.
Pottery pp.255-260.

P. Benoit, J. T. Milik
and R. de Vaux

'Les Grottes de Murabba'at' ('Discoveries in the Judaean Desert', II, 1961). Pottery pp.29-34; period p.47-48.

The Israeli Expeditions to Desert Caves

Y. Aharoni

IEJ, 1961, pp.11-24: Expedition B to Nahal Hever, espy. pp.18f.

idem

IEJ, 1962, pp.187-199. Expedition B to Nahal Hever; p.192 and fig. 4.

N. Avigad

IEJ, 1962, pp.169-183. Expedition A to Nahal David, espy. p.177 and notes 13, 14 with fig. 5, nos. 19, 20.

Tell en-Nasbeh

C. C. McCown

'Tell en-Nasbeh', Vols. I and II, 1947. He gives a precise analysis of the short-nozzled lamp with round discus and depressed infundibulum.

IV, bibliography

Gezer

- R. A. S. Macalister 'The Excavation of Gezer', Vols. I and II, 1912. Tombs with benches and kokhim; pottery from Iron Age, Herodian period and later.

Marisa

- F. J. Bliss and
R. A. S. Macalister 'Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900', 1902, pp.71-76, 124-134. Plates 58-64 present the Hellenistic lamps

Ashdod

- M. Dothan and
D. N. Freedman Atiqot, VII, 1967, English series:
'Ashdod, the First Season of Excavations, 1962'.

Area A only; strata III and IV are of interest, and the lamps of fig. 1, 3; 8, 4; 11, 16. Spindle-bottle in IIb and still in II. No piriform bottles, no Herodian lamps.

Silet edh-Dhahr

- O. R. Sellers and
D. S. Baramki BASOR, Suppl. 15-16, 1953. This is the excavation of a tomb at Silet edh-Dhahr with a classification of

IV, bibliography

lamp types which has influenced later publications. The plain, bow-spouted lamp is Type IB, pp.32-33, fig. 34.

Beth-shan (Skythopolis)

G. M. Fitzgerald

'Beth Shan Excavations, 1921-1923', 1931. Vol. III, pp.38-39 for pottery, and lack of stratification; pp.40-41 and pl.XXXVI for lamps; the early forms are nos. 1-3. Vol. II, p.15 and lamp pl. L, 26.

Kephar Baruch and Nazareth

See bibliography to the Addendum of Part III above for the article by Prausnitz and Rahmani (Kefar Baruch) and the pottery from two tombs at Nazareth (Richmond; Bagatti).

THE SMALL FINDS OF THE JEWISH TOMBS WITH
KOKHIM AND OSSUARIES IN THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM
- POTTERY, GLASS, COINS, INSCRIPTIONS

The Excavated Tombs at Jerusalem

1. Orfali

Series of roughly rectangular chambers with benches at Bethphage on the East slope of the Mount of Olives.

a Herodian lamp

a ceramic globular bottle

a glass vessel (fig. 407 lamp and bottle)

2. Sukenik, Tarbitz

Chamber with benches and one kokh, and on the North a natural grotto, slightly altered for use. This is N.W. of the Old City, south of Rehov Mahaneh Yehudah.

a flat-bottomed pot without handles

three lamps with slight nozzles, round discus and sunken infundibulum

four glass 'candlestick' bottles

a small glass jar

also a coin of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BC) (fig. 408)

3. Sukenik, JJPES

Tomb with a bone-chamber and a chamber with benches and kokhim,
both off a small court (compare no. 26) on the shoulder of Mount
Scopus.

spindle-bottle

folded lamp of the closed type with small wick-hole

delphiniform lamp with 'lugs' at the shoulders

four Herodian lamps of various sizes, all plain

two piriform bottles

shallow dish

globular bottle

globular juglet (fig. 409 lamps)

4. Stekelis

Tomb with kokhim at Ramat Rahel

spindle-bottle

nine piriform bottles

plain Herodian lamps only

shallow dish

globular juglet

globular bottle (fig. 410)

5. Baramki

Tomb with kokhim at Wa'r Abu es-Safa, about three kilometres
West of Jerusalem.

two alabaster

two piriform bottles

a Herodian lamp

a lamp of the round, slight-nozzled type with a wide infundibulum and a volute adornment near the nozzle and a narrow shoulder decorated with geometric ornament

twenty-one glass 'candlestick' bottles of various shapes and sizes

forty-three glass jars of the small type with rim and base of the same diameter, like the small glass jar of no. 2 above

(ibid. pl. LXXX; lamps not illustrated)

6. Sukenik, AJA

Tomb with kokhim between Talpiot and Ramat Rahel.

delphiniform lamp with false 'lugs' at the shoulders, and a stubby nozzle

four plain, Herodian lamps

two piriform unguentaria

large jars

cooking pots,

a large jug

a small bowl

two globular juglets

a coin of Agrippa I, dated AD 42-43

(fig. 411)

7. Milik

A tomb with kokhim on Jebel Khallet et-Turi just South of Silwan village; only part of the tomb was seen.

a pinched lamp

a delphiniform lamp with stubby nozzle

five Herodian lamps

five small, piriform unguentaria

two cooking pots (fig. 412)

8-25. Sagatti, DE

This extensive cemetery on the Mount of Olives included eighteen crowded systems with kokhim (pp.4-20 *ibid.*). In these were found a large jar with neck and lip missing (*ibid.* fig. 28,1), fragments of lip, neck and handle from large jugs (fig. 29, 3, 4, 5), one whole globular juglet and eight other neck fragments (fig. 30,1), fragments of pilgrim flasks (fig. 30,17) and many fragments of cooking pots with globular bodies and of another type with angular shoulder (fig. 31, 1-6; 7-8) and of small bowls. From 426 came the only spindle-bottle (fig. 30, 20), whereas eighty-six piriform and globular ceramic bottles of varying height and both elongated and squat form were found (fig. 30, 21-26). The lamps are equally significant - ninety five Herodian lamps (fig. 25, 6-8) were all found in kokhim chambers, as were all

the unguentaria just mentioned. The only other lamps found in all of these tombs were two delphiniform lamps, with the same decoration of 'rays' (sometimes called the 'sun-burst') as in tombs 3, 6 and 7 above (fig. 25,5); a fragment of a similar, long spouted type (fig. 25,4); and one fragment of the lamp with slight nozzle and round discus (fig. 25,12). Twelve piriform, glass unguentaria were also found, but none of the 'candlestick' type (fig. 33, 1-3 and 5). The coins were only three in number - a coin of Herod Antipas, an illegible coin and a procuratorial coin of AD 6-11.

(fig. 413 lamps, bottles, juglets, cooking-pots)

26. Rahmani, IEJ

A tomb on Shahin Hill consisting of two chambers off a small court - a kokhim-chamber and a bone-chamber.

two spindle-bottles (one from the bone-chamber)

a pinched lamp (from the bone-chamber)

three Herodian lamps

two piriform bottles

a large bowl

a jug

three cooking-pots

- three jars

(fig. 414)

27-41. Rahmani, Atiqot

The Sanhedriyyeh tombs have benches, kokhim and arcosolia.

Sanhedriyyeh tomb 5: fragments of cooking pots

- " " 6: " " " "
- " " 7: two jars, three cooking-pots, a piriform bottle
- " " 10: cooking-pots, a piriform bottle, a flask and a small bowl
- " " 11: cooking-pots, two jars, piriform bottles, a flask, two small bowls, a Herodian lamp
- " " 12: cooking-pots, piriform bottles, two Herodian lamps
- " " 13: cooking-pots, jars, two jugs, a piriform bottle, a globular juglet, a small bowl, five Herodian lamps
- " " 14: sherds of between thirteen and fifteen cooking-pots, five to seven jars, jugs, two piriform bottles, four small bowls, a flask, a globular juglet, three Herodian lamps
- " " 18: cooking-pots, three jars, a piriform bottle
- " " 19: cooking-pots

Sanhedriyyeh tomb 20: nine to eleven cooking-pots, three or four jars, two jugs, three piriform bottles, a small bowl and four Herodian lamps

(38) the Mahanaim tomb

four cooking-pots, a jug, a small bowl, five Herodian lamps

(39) the Nisan Beq tomb

a cooking-pot, one or two jars, a jug, a piriform bottle and a Herodian lamp

(40) the Ruppin tomb

five or six cooking-pots, two or three jars, a spindle-bottle, six or seven piriform bottles, an alabastron, a small bowl and a Herodian lamp

(41) The Mitudelah tomb

four to six cooking-pots, five piriform bottles, an alabastron and four glass unguentaria

No coins were found in any of these tombs.

42. Avigad

A plain chamber with a bone-pit in the Kedron Valley.

a cooking-pot and sherds from another

seven piriform unguentaria

three globular juglets

an alabastron

a Herodian lamp

a pilgrim flask

(ibid. fig. 2 and pl. I,A)

It seems to me that the lamps provide the most interesting variations in form. About a hundred and forty of the wheel-made, knife-pared lamps with bowed spout came from the forty-two tombs of this inventory. These lamps are usually completely plain. If they are decorated the ornament takes the form of small roundels like those on the ossuaries, or lines near the spout. Fig. 415 shows one of the decorated lamps (of unknown provenance). This plain and simple lamp form, usually wheel-made, is the type I refer to as 'Herodian' (the Herodian dynasty ruled various parts of Palestine from 40 BC-AD 100). In only eight of the tombs examined does an earlier lamp-form than the Herodian occur, as follows:

Sukenik, JJPES: pinched lamp, delphiniform rayed lamp,
four Herodian lamps

Sukenik, AJA : delphiniform rayed lamp, four Herodian lamps

Milik : pinched lamp, delphiniform rayed lamp, five
Herodian lamps

Bagatti, DF -

complex 140-151: delphiniform rayed lamp with Herodian lamps

complex 294-301: a fragment of a long-spouted type, and of a
rounded lamp with slight nozzle

complex 355-369: delphiniform rayed lamp with about eight
Herodian lamps

complex 425-426: a folded lamp and a Herodian lamp

Rahmani, IEJ : a pinched lamp and three Herodian lamps

It is clear that only two late Hellenistic forms occur - the native pinched lamp, and the delphiniform rayed lamp in local ware which imitates imported forms, but has reduced its nozzle to a stubbier shape and lost its lugs. These earlier forms, which must have overlapped with the initial period of use of the Herodian type, are always accompanied and outnumbered by this except in one case when the even later form with very slight nozzle and round discus is found, a type which overlaps with the time when the popularity of the Herodian lamp was

fading. The conclusion is that only eight of the tombs began to be used before the vogue of the Herodian form, and that even for these the main period of burials coincides with the period of the bow-spouted lamp. The only instances apart from 'Dominus flevit' complex 294-301 where the later lamp form occurs are:

Sukenik, Tarbitz: three lamps with slight nozzle, round discus and sunken infundibulum.

Baramki: one lamp of the same type with a volute adornment near the nozzle, and geometric ornament on the shoulder.

In each case it is indicated in some way that this lamp marks the latter days of the use of the tomb - at 'Dominus flevit' by the lamp with the long, Hellenistic nozzle; in Sukenik's tomb by the Hasmonaean coin, which would not have circulated long into the Herodian period; in Baramki's tomb by the presence of the Herodian lamp. Thus the key form is the Herodian lamp. The finds neatly and clearly inform us that the tombs which contained ossuaries at Jerusalem - most of which are of the kokhim type - were in use from the time when this lamp was beginning to be made until the time when it ceased to be used.

Two excavations conducted within the last fifteen years near Jerusalem are of particular value in fixing what this period was. The first is the excavation of a Herodian pleasure palace at Jericho by Pritchard, where the Roman levels can be firmly dated by a coin sequence and by historical factors known from literary sources. The coins are twelve of Herod the Great (37-4 BC), twenty-two of Herod Archelaus (4 BC-AD 6), two of procurators and five of Herod Agrippa I. This gives a total of forty-one coins from 37 BC to AD 44; there was also a coin of AD 54 and another of AD 87. The excavation unearthed all the typical pottery of the tombs of Jerusalem, including thirty-six Herodian lamps, and the nozzle and body fragment (not mentioned in the text, pp22-23; pl.49,6) of one of the round lamps with slight nozzle. The literary evidence that affects the dating of the palace is that Cleopatra owned Jericho while Antony lived. Perhaps the large number of coins of Archelaus imply that the initial activity on this site was in his reign.

The Qumran excavations are even more helpful. In fact in his publication of the first season at the Khirbeh de Vaux remarked upon the similarity of the pottery which he found to that from the tombs at Ramat Rahel, Talpiot and Scopus in my inventory (RB, 1953, p.94). The clarity of the stratification,

overwhelming bulk of coins in strict sequence, and clear historical connections with events recorded in detail in Josephus make this excavation exceptionally important for purposes of dating the pottery forms found in it. The dating of the levels is as follows:

- Ia construction of main community building, probably under John Hyrcanus. No clearly identifiable strata or distinctive pottery.
- Ib development of the community in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. Coins go down to Antigonus and to four of Herod the Great. The end of Ib levels is marked by the earthquake of 31 BC which is mentioned by Josephus. The settlement may have been abandoned shortly before this in the disturbances associated with the early years of King Herod.
- II restoration of the community under Herod Archelaus is indicated both by the absence of coins of Herod the Great, and by a sequence from Archelaus himself and the Augustan procurators up to the First Revolt. The end of the community in AD 68 is indicated by troop movements detailed in

Josephus, by coins going to exactly this date, and by ashes and arrow-heads. The bulk of the pottery on the site is of Ib and II, and is separated stratigraphically by the clear indications of the earthquake. Again the ashes of the Roman destruction make the end of II readily distinguishable.

III that the ruins of the community were occupied by a Roman post is indicated by coins of Caesarea and Dora, whence the Xth Legion came to Jericho in AD 68. These coins indicate that the post was maintained till c. 100 AD. Other coins show that the Jewish insurgents of AD 132-135 stayed here for a time. Pottery of this period is not considerable.

There is no confusion at all about the lamp forms found here over five seasons of careful excavation. The lamps of period Ib - up to about 35 BC - are of Hellenistic shape with long spouts and handles. Their precise form is the work of the community potter, and is not found elsewhere. Only one specimen of another type occurs in the shape of a decorated and moulded lamp comparable to the Hellenistic Cnidus and Ephesus

lamps. It has a ring handle, and the Greek laurel-and-berries ornament; because of its bow spout it may be regarded as representative of a Hellenistic form which stimulated local potters to produce the lamp form found in period II (from c. 1 AD). This is, of course, the Herodian lamp - plain or simply decorated, wheel-made or sometimes moulded. De Vaux says specifically that it is the only type from level II, and that it occurs frequently (RB, 1954, p.217). Smith adds the information that the lamps of period III - which are not published in de Vaux's reports - are also Herodian (Berytus, XIV, pp.55-56). A lamp of the rayed, delphiniform type is wrongly assigned to period III (this is the only piece shown from locus 19); typologically it belongs to Ia or Ib.

The same period of use is indicated in a number of other instances. With Augustan wares in a bath-fill of period Ia at Sebaste two Herodian lamps were found (J. W. Crowfoot et al., 'Samaria-Sebaste', III, 1957, p.368,3). Mrs. Bennett says that it is the common type at Jerusalem in levels as yet not published which precede the destructions of Titus in AD 70 (in K. M. Kenyon, 'Excavations at Jericho', Vol. II, p.527). It is found in Bethany Cistern I with two pinched lamps; Lapp (pp.24-25) suggests a date of 75-50 for the pottery from this cistern, but I think that this terminal date is slightly too early.

Kahane assembled a good deal of comparative material in Atiqot III on the wheel-made, Herodian lamp (his Types a, b, c). His conclusion is that it dates from about Herod I to about 70 AD. However his essay is in the form of notes upon the pottery found in two kokhim tombs at Huqoq by Lake Tiberias. He had no space for a critical evaluation of the dates already assigned by others to their material, nor to distinguish the more securely stratified excavations or the tombs with homogeneous pottery. His judgement rests, therefore, on uneven material. Smith's assessment also is based on pottery groups of different value. His failure to make the necessary distinctions makes him too definite in his extension of the period when the lamp was used up to AD 135 (ibid., pp.57,59; based on his comments under nos. 5 and 6, pp.55-56). For this he relies upon its presence in Qumran III, where the main occupation is till c. AD 100 only, and upon finds in the Murabb'at Caves. The pottery found in these may as well have been deposited in the 1st century AD as the early 2nd century, though it may be connected with the activities of Yeshua ben Gilgola, lieutenant of Bar Kochba (RB, 1953, pp.257-258, fig. 4, nos. 11-13; and pp.264-267, 268-294). One would more readily associate the lamp found here with slight nozzle and round discus - a form we have met in the Jerusalemite tombs - with the 2nd century AD.

Herodian lamps or fragments from the caves of Nahal Seelim and Nahal Mishmar may also be connected with the First Revolt, as Kahane and Bar-Adon suggest (Atiqot, III, p.136; IEJ, 1962, p.216). Similarly in the Cave of Horror Aharoni found only one fragment of the wheel-made Herodian lamp; it is rather the various fragments of mould-made, decorated lamps (Atiqot, III, p.137; IEJ, 1961, p.18 and pl. 8E) which should be associated here with coins of Trajan (ibid. pl. 10D) and of the Second Revolt (IEJ, 1962, p.200).

Even in recent excavation reports the Herodian lamp is sometimes attributed to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Such attributions must be ignored. They are based on finds made in tombs at Gezer, Tell an-Nasbeh and Silet edh-Dhahr where pottery forms ranged from Herodian to Byzantine, and use extended over many centuries; or on excavations where the levels were difficult to trace and again could not be closely dated, as at Sebaste, in the Tyropoeon Valley, at Beth Shan and on Ophel. One is not surprised to find Gallinger in his classification of Palestinian lamps in the thirties referring the Herodian type to the Byzantine period. He simply reflects the opinions expressed in many earlier publications. In extended contexts with non-homogeneous wares it is impossible

to distinguish early forms from late ones, to separate Herodian from Byzantine. The dearth of clear levels of the early Roman period before the excavations of Hamilton and Johns at Jerusalem, and those of Pritchard and de Vaux in the Rift at Jericho and Qumran is astonishing.

Of the Tyropoeon Valley the excavators themselves said that only one level could be distinguished below a Byzantine floor-level, and that the 'Below Street' and 'Low Level' pottery were mixed and disturbed. The finds here include the globular juglet and the piriform bottle. At Beth-Shan Fitzgerald bemoaned the '...absence of definite stratification below the Byzantine buildings..'; and at Ophel in the 1923 to 1925 digs no clearly defined or closely dated levels were found. Even less can the Gezer tombs be relied upon. Macalister assumed that kokhim belonged to the Maccabean period, and found lamps which extended into the Byzantine period. The result was that the Herodian lamp was dated from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD. But in fact we know that kokhim continued in use until AD 135 from the pottery at 'Dominus flevit' and the sudden abandonment of the cemetery. And it should be noted that the Herodian lamp occurs at Gezer in tombs 8, 76, 124 and 189, all of which were kokhim tombs, and three of which still contained ossuaries. The confusing finds

from Gezer of Herodian - Roman - Byzantine lamps are shown in my fig. 416 for tombs 8, 76 and 189; notice too the delphiniform rayed lamps from tomb 168. At Tell en-Nasbeh Herodian lamps were found in tombs 2, 4 (with a coin of Herod Archelaus), 6, 8 and 71, all of which were kokhim tombs with ossuaries, candlestick unguentaria and other familiar forms; and in tomb 14, which was cut in the Iron Age, and re-used in the Herodian period. It has Iron Age pottery, one whole specimen and two spouts of the Herodian lamp, and lamps of the round, slight-nozzled type. They were also found in tomb 15, which has the simple, bench form of the Iron Age, bones in a small pit in one angle, a coin of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (271-240 BC), two plain, wheel-made Herodian lamps and a Byzantine lamp. At Silet edh-Dhahr the confusion was much the same. The three chambers contained Herodian lamps, the round lamp with slight nozzle, late Roman lamps and Byzantine lamps; but the Herodian lamps were mostly actually in the kokhim. Ceramic and glass piriform bottles were also found here. Kokh 10 of chamber B, which is said to be Byzantine, contained a plain, wheel-made, Herodian lamp, as well as glass of uncertain date and Byzantine wares; this chamber must have been carved out in the 1st century AD like the other two, but not much used until the Byzantine period.

Just how far we are justified in pushing the use of the Herodian lamp back into the 1st century BC is not easy to judge. Lapp feels justified in assigning the pottery of Jericho (Tulul Abu el-Alayiq) largely to the period AD 1-50 on the principle that most of the pottery from a given level belongs to its later period. Qumran II starts at the same time. The following facts seem particularly significant:

1. There are no Herodian lamps in Qumran period Ib, the end of which is associated at the earliest with disturbances in Palestine from 40 to 37 BC, at the latest with a fire accompanying the earthquake of 31 BC. There is a possibility that such a conservative community with its own skilled potter would retain traditional forms longer than elsewhere.
2. There are no Herodian lamps from the digs by Johns at the Citadel of Jerusalem in levels 'e' to 'h', which produced coins as late as John Hyrcanus II (63-40 BC) and King Herod. These levels, which follow on Hasmonaean structures, are associated by Johns with Herod's erection of the towers Hippicus, Phasaël and Mariamne, completed in 29 BC. Lapp accepts this terminal date on the basis of a comparison of the whole pottery group from 'e' to 'h' with his Corpus. He goes so far as to suggest that 'e' cannot antedate 50 BC, and

that 'f' to 'h' date from 37-29 BC. Most of the pottery comes from 'f'. It seems highly significant that it includes a pinched lamp, a rayed delphiniform lamp and a spindle-bottle, but no Herodian lamps and no piriform unguentaria.

3. In Hamilton's shafts street levels were encountered in the Tyropoeon Valley, and the lower level was assigned to the Herodian city ('.. a hypothesis not contradicted by the evidence of the potsherds..'). Between the upper and lower levels was a coin of the First Revolt; two metres below the lower street level was one of Antiochus VII (138-129 BC). The pottery includes the nozzle of a plain Herodian lamp and the top of a globular juglet. Lapp argues that the pottery group cannot be later than the 1st century BC, since it includes flat plates found in Qumran Ib (- c.35 BC) but not at Alayiq (30 BC-AD 50) or Qumran II (AD 1-68), cooking pots with sharply differentiated necks more typical of Qumran Ib, pinched lamps and spindle-bottles. There are no piriform unguentaria. He suggests the reign of Herod (37-4 BC) as a satisfactory date for the whole group. If this be accepted it is the earliest context we have yet found for the Herodian lamp.

4. That the Herodian lamp is found in levels of the 1st century AD at Jerusalem itself is indicated by the Soundings at the North

Wall. At the bottom of Sounding B in a distinctive stratum of brown soil were five Herodian nozzles, the globular and angular cooking-pots, the pilgrim flask and the globular juglet. Lapp notes the correspondence of the rims and necks of the jars with pottery from Alayiq and Qumran II. Two coins came from here also - dated to AD 910 and AD 42-43. At Sounding C Herodian lamp nozzles were frequent in levels 'beta', 'gamma' and 'delta', and there was also a fragment of the lamp with round discus. The latest coins in 'delta' were two of AD 42-43 and one of AD 58-59.

5. The Herodian lamp occurs in some early, homogeneous loci to which Lapp has assigned narrow dating limits suitable for the whole group of pottery forms. The lower level of the Tyropoeon Valley has already been mentioned (37-4 BC) with its single nozzle fragment. We should also note again here the two Herodian lamps from the Sebaste Ia Bath Fill, dated by the excavators and by Lapp to the turn of the eras; the presence of delphiniform rayed lamps in Sebaste Vault Cistern 2, but not Herodian ones (date suggested by Lapp 50-25 BC); the presence of two folded lamps and of a plain, wheel-made, Herodian lamp in Bethany Cistern 61, for which Lapp suggests the date 75-50 BC. But 50 BC pushes the date of the Herodian lamp further back

than seems warranted, since it is not found in Qumran Ib or the Jerusalem Citadel and offers up only one nozzle fragment (with two earlier, pinched lamps) at the lower street-level of the Tyropoeon Valley. The Bethany Cistern group probably has a longer spread than Lapp suggests, terminating about 40 BC or 30 BC.

6. The tomb of Jason gives the earliest, secure date for the Herodian lamp. Here the Herodian wares are completely overshadowed by the sixteen spindle-bottles and by over twenty lamps of well-established pre-Herodian form (local wares). The spindle-bottles are like those of Beth-zur (- 100 BC). Together with the Hasmonaean coins they indicate that the tomb was carved out about 100 BC. The delphiniform lamps are of better Hellenistic shape - typologically earlier - than those found in the tombs of my catalogue (fig. 416A,4-7). As to the lower time limit the conclusions of Rahmani are inevitable, being established by coins of Herod (37 BC-) and the earth tremor already noticed at Qumran (31 BC). Coins of Herod and Herodian lamps were found in the vestibule and inner court directly on the plastered floors and beneath the earthquake debris. They are probably connected with the tomb-robbers rather than the owners. The most probable date for this robbery would be at the time of Herod's entry into Jerusalem in 37 BC, as Rahmani suggests. For more details supra II,ii,6 .

Thus the earliest date attested with absolute security for the Herodian lamp is c.35 BC, and it seems unlikely that it was in much use before 40 BC. Since we have evidence from Qumran that it continued to be popular in the period AD 70-100, we may feel justified in extending its limits up to the Second Revolt, which marks a definite cultural break for Judaea with the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and a population shift to Esdraelon and Galilee. This is not made necessary by the Murabba'at finds, which included coins of the 1st century AD and a later type of lamp than the plain Herodian. However in Avigad's opinion it is made probable by the finds in the caves of Nahal Hever, Nahal Seelim and Nahal David, where in some cases it is the latest form typologically and the finds include coins and documents of the early 2nd century AD and the Second Revolt, but nothing definitely earlier (IEJ, 1962, p.177).

Smith has attempted to distinguish two types of Herodian lamp of plain form. Type I up to c. 35 AD has a pronounced flange, an acutely spatulate nozzle and an elongated wick-hole. Type 2 from AD 50 on (after a transitional type of AD 35-50) has a lower ridge, a smaller flange, a less spatulate nozzle and a wide wick-hole. The nozzle-profile of the two types is

also different (Berytus, XIV, p.61). It is interesting to see that the lamps from the Jerusalemite tombs tend to support this distinction in form and date. The lamps from my inventory nos. 3, 26 and 40 are of Type I, and are associated with early lamp forms and spindle-bottles. From tomb 6 come both types, an early lamp and a coin of AD 42-43. In fact type I does seem to be associated with early lamps and with spindle-bottles.

The delphiniform 'rayed' or 'sun-burst' lamp found in the Jerusalemite tombs is smaller and has a stubbier nozzle than forms of the rayed lamp found in definite Hellenistic contexts (figs. 411, 412). The forms of the ones from 'Dominus flevit' (kokhim 143 and 362), the Talpiot tomb and Khallet et-Turi are much the same; the one from the tomb on Scopus is more delphiniform (typologically earlier) in shape (fig. 409). Rayed lamps of proper form - with more elongated spouts and often a prominent lug at one side - are found at Beth-zur, Tell Sandahanna (Marisa), Sebaste and the mound of Gezer in contexts of the 2nd century BC. In fact Beth-zur was abandoned about 100 BC, so that the lamps from there cannot be later than this. The closest of all this material to our form is pl. 62, no. 4 from Sandahanna; also a lamp from tomb 168 at Gezer (my fig. 416). Exactly the same as our form is that on pl. XXI, no. 2 of the

1923-1925 Ophel digs. From Qumran period Ib came a rayed lamp with longer spout and a proper lug. Three rayed lamps occur, and no Herodian ones, in the Samaria Vault Cistern 2 pottery, assigned by Lapp to 75-25 BC. The pottery from 'e' to 'h' of the Citadel (Johns, QDAP, fig. 14) included a rayed lamp and a pinched lamp, but no Herodian ones (date -29 BC). All of this material establishes that these forms are earlier than, but overlap with, the plain Herodian lamp. The folded lamps (figs. 409, 412) also reach back to the 2nd century BC, and are found in the Bethany Cistern (75-25 BC) and the lower level of the Tyropoeon Valley (37-4 BC), as well as at the Citadel (-29 BC). None of the rayed lamps mentioned resemble the ones from the Jerusalemite tombs as much as these resemble each other, except the one from Ophel, and another from a cistern at Jericho ('Excavations at Jericho', p.542, 3) which was found together with Herodian lamps.

The lamp with round discus and slight nozzle is a later form with a period of use which overlaps with the tail-end of the period of the Herodian lamp. For instance the two forms were found together at Wa'r Abu es-Safa and at Murabba'at. Perhaps the most interesting instance of new forms from c.70 AD on is in the two Huqoq tombs. In the lower layer of the pit in tomb I here a plain, bow-spouted nozzle was found together with

two lamps of a more developed form - moulded and decorated, but still with spatulate nozzles (fig. 417(a), 18-20). All other lamps from both tombs are of the type with round discus and slight nozzle. In a non-homogeneous context in the Cave of Horror of Nahal Hever the same types were found together (IEJ, 1962, pp.192-194, figs. 3, 4). A clear typology of all lamps that could possibly be called 'Herodian', including the late form mentioned just above, is given by Kahane (Atiqot, III, 1961, pp.135-139); Kahane's types and dates are the basis of Smith's more developed ideas on the plain forms of the lamp (Berytus, XIV).

It is absorbing to find the same lamp forms at tomb 1 of Kefar Baruch (Atiqot, 1959, Hebrew series, p.207, fig. 3; two slight-nozzled lamps of round form with sunken discus), where all of the pottery is compared with that from the kokhim and upper level of the pit of tomb I and all loci of tomb IV at Huqoq. They recur in a tomb excavated by Richmond at Nazareth, which produced two lamps of Kahane's Herodian form (e) groups 2 and 3. The one of group 2 is a large, almost plain, moulded lamp (Richmond, pl.XXXIV, 2 bottom left; Kahane, Atiqot III, p.139); the other is smaller, ornate and has volute adornment at the neck. Both, of course, have the spatulate nozzle or bow-spout characteristic of all forms of the Herodian lamp.

From the same tomb came two lamps of the type with round discus and slight nozzle. It is odd that all such lamps from Huqoq, Kefar Baruch and this Nazareth tomb had smashed infundibula; the discus is depressed. From Bagatti's tomb 70 at Nazareth (pp.230-233, and fig. 192) came three plain Herodian lamps, six of the round type with slight nozzle, the decorated and moulded Herodian lamp and later lamps. The slight nozzled type is usually decorated with geometric patterns on the shoulder - double axes, roundels, eggs, short volutes near the nozzle (Bagatti, fig. 192, 14; the Wa'r Abu es-Safa lamp; Huqoq my fig. 417 tomb I, nos. 21-26 and tomb IV, nos. 5-6). It is to be noted that in some of these lamps the nozzle is not only slight, but also breaks very sharply with the body; in others the integration of the two is a much smoother line. The best evidence for dating this form is a comparison with lamps from the potter's store at Gerasa (Jerash) which Iliffe published (espy. his pl. VIII, no. 157) and dated to the late 1st century and early 2nd century AD. Some of these were made by Eucarpus, whose lamps are also found at Pompeii, where they must pre-date AD 79. Confirmatory evidence is that sherds of this type were found in Sounding B at the North Wall of Jerusalem above the level dated by Lapp up to AD 70. The finds at Silet edh-Dhahr, Tell en-Nasbeh and Gezer are with other lamps ranging from

Herodian to Byzantine in date. The only other significant Palestinian evidence is that of the kokhim tombs themselves, since we have established the dates of the plain, Herodian lamp; and that of one fragment from Alayiq (Jericho). All of this evidence indicates that the lamp with round bowl and slight lip, which is usually geometrically adorned and has a sunken discus, was not popular before c. AD 70. But it seems that this type and the moulded and decorated, Herodian lamp with bow-spout began to usurp the place of the plain Herodian lamp (Kahane types (a) to (d); Atiqot, pp.136-138) in the time between the two Revolts.

After the lamps the pottery unguentaria seem to me of most service for close dating. Spindle-bottles in the Jerusalem tombs are usually associated with early lamp forms, whereas piri-form bottles are not. The plain, bow-spouted lamp and the piri-form bottle dominate the finds without early lamp forms. This is obvious for instance in the Sanhedriyyeh tombs and the 'Dominus flevit' complexes. Spindle-bottles and early lamps are found in the Scopus tomb, at Shahin Hill and in locus 426 at 'Dominus flevit', which is associated with kokh 425. Moreover Herodian lamps of Smith's type I (c. 37 BC-AD 35) are always found with spindle-bottles in the tomb catalogue.

Neither early lamps nor spindle-bottles are found at Sanhedriyyeh. Excavations at Jerusalem, Jericho and Sebaste help to establish when the spindle-bottle began to be ousted by the piriform bottle. Four fragments of spindle-bottles were found in the Jerusalem Citadel levels extending to 29 BC, and spindle-bottles were also found in the Tyropoeon Valley levels for which Lapp suggested the date 37-4 BC, and in the Samaria Vault Cistern 2, for which he suggested 75-25 BC. On the other hand the piriform bottle is not found in these early contexts, but is ubiquitous in loci of the 1st century AD. At Jericho (30 BC-AD 50) one solitary fragment of a spindle-bottle is completely overshadowed by a cache of one hundred and twenty-two piriform bottles from room thirty-three of Pritchard's excavation. These were found just 70 cms. below the surface together with some globular bottles. In fact most of the pottery forms represented in the tombs are found at Jericho - the ceramic bottles, globular juglets, both types of cooking-pot, lamps, the lentoid pilgrim flask with twisted handles, and a fragment of the rare alabastron. Details of some of these forms were examined by Kahane (IEJ, I, II, III). The same types belong to Qumran period II, including large storage jars with collared necks and small, shallow bowls. The general prevalence of the same forms at Jericho (30 BC-AD 50), at Qumran in period II (c. AD 1-68) and in the kokhim tombs of Jerusalem is striking. All of these wares - without setting

such precise limits as the lamps - supplement and confirm the judgments of date already made. With regard to the unguentaria specifically two more important observations may be made. The piriform bottle is not found in period Ib of Qumran (- c. 35BC) but it is found in period II (c. AD 1-68). Spindle-bottles dominate the forms at the tomb of Jason (100-35 BC), but a few piriform bottles are already found. Thus the time when spindle-bottles lose favour before the piriform shape is c. 25 BC.

Distinctions in other types of pottery seem to me more subtle and less datable, as presented in the Corpus of Lapp. Some are put forward hesitantly; some are based on only a small number of pottery fragments; some are difficult to apply to published drawings and photographs, and require the practised eye of an experienced field-worker. Lapp suggests for instance that the collared rim of the large jars tends to be longer for Qumran period II, and that a ridged or grooved neck appears near the beginning of the 1st century AD. These suggestions must be treated with reserve, since the material is slight except for jars of Qumran period II. In fact large jars with neck and rim still preserved are a rarity in the ossuary tombs. In all the complexes of 'Dominus flevit' only one jar was found in the kokhim tombs, and this had its top missing. However there were

one complete specimen and some neck fragments at the Talpiot tomb. Here Sukenik's fig. 6, 10 has the rounded rim of Lapp's Corpus 11.3H (examples from Qumran Ib and from pre-29 BC Citadel levels) which he suggests disappears in the 1st century BC. The two jar fragments with longer necks and ridges may indicate a later date, like the neck of the whole jar (fig. 6, no. 1). This tends to confirm the impression given by lamps and unguentaria that the Talpiot tomb was in use during the last quarter of the 1st century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD.

The largest finds of glass in Jerusalem were in the tombs of Wa'r Abu es-Safa and 'Dominus flevit'. From the first came twenty-one 'candlestick' bottles and many more of the small jars with short, thick necks and base and rim of the same diameter (as Huqoq, tomb I; my fig. 417, no. 8). About twenty glass vessels came from the kokhim tombs of 'Dominus flevit'. Nearly all were piriform unguentaria, and there were none at all of the 'candlestick' type. In addition DF fig. 33, nos. 8 and 13 are unusual variants of the piriform shape; fig. 34, 1-3 are probably intrusive, being from tombs with other late pottery (one collapsed; one re-used); fig. 34, 18 is again the small type of jar mentioned above. At Huqoq occurred solitary finds of a spouted bottle, a circular lentoid-bottle, a squat glass

pot and a small glass bowl, none of which can be closely dated, and none of which recur in other ossuary tombs. The main forms are the piriform (or globular) bottle, the 'candlestick' bottle and the small jar with base and neck flaring to the same diameter (Atiqot, p.126, fig. 3, nos. 8-13, 15-17). We find then that the piriform and 'candlestick' types are the most characteristic of the ossuary tombs. Kahane has gone into the morphology and dates of these thoroughly, and concludes that so far it is impossible to establish a chronological sequence of sub-varieties. The period of their use extends as late as the 6th century AD. The only helpful consideration is that glass-blowing was not introduced until the Augustan period. But it is the ceramic forms which must be relied on for closer limits.

The Herodian lamp and its associated pottery establishes for us the time-limits of the tombs at Jerusalem with kokhim and ossuaries. The overlapping earlier and later lamp-forms and the occasional spindle-bottle show that the period of use of the ossuaries in these tombs extended right through the time when the plain, wheel-made, knife-pared, bow-spouted, Herodian lamp was in vogue. Homogeneous pottery groups and stratified levels which link with testimony from coins and literary sources indicate that this time was about 35 BC to

about AD 100. Finds more difficult to interpret in the Desert Caves may indicate an extension till AD 135, the date when Jews were expelled from Jerusalem and exactly the time when we could expect such a cultural break. Note that this does not set the earlier limit for the use of kokhim, as the Tomb of Jason shows, but it does give the dates for the ossuaries of c. 40 BC to AD 70 or 135. Arguments attempting to extend these limits must be rejected. We may finally note that ossuaries 43, 46, 71 and 72 of 'Dominus flevit' contained fragments of piriform unguentaria and an unusual, decorated bowl (DF, fig. 32, 1), which is very similar to an unpublished bowl from Kh. Qumran (No. Kh. Q 891; de Vaux, RB, 1959, pp.299-301).

PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE OSSUARIES

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PALAEOGRAPHY

It is astonishing to note how accurate some early opinions on the dates of the ossuaries were (see bibliography). The dating of the inscriptions, like that of the pottery, was bedevilled early on by the spread of pottery forms found at Gezer, and by Macalister's insistence that the kokh was a Maccabean form. These confusions caused Vincent to date the ossuaries from 200 BC to 200 AD. The fact is that the Gezer necropoleis cannot be used for assigning dates either to the Herodian lamp or to the ossuaries.

The study by Albright of the Nash Papyrus, and then the discovery of nearly 600 documents in the Qumran caves (3rd century BC - 1st century AD) and many in the Murabba'at caves (1st-2nd centuries AD) transformed the scene.

'A typological sequence of scripts including several hundred specimens of Jewish script, a number of them precisely dated on non-palaeographic grounds as well as some hundreds of scripts from epigraphic sources, has now been established, extending in time from the late third century B.C. to the late second century of the Christian era.'

(Cross, 1958, pp.87-88)

The researches of Albright, Sukenik, Birnbaum, Avigad, Milik and Cross have been able to draw upon an ever-increasing body of documents, which they claim to be able to date accurately to within fifty years. Milik has published detailed observations on the inscriptions of ossuaries from Khallet et Turi and 'Dominus flevit', and assigns the bulk of them to the Herodian period, employing the Bethphage lid - attributed by himself and by Cross to the late 1st century BC - as a fixed point of reference.

Cross contests some of Milik's dates, but not to any serious extent. After assigning most of the inscriptions of 'Dominus flevit' to the Herodian period, Milik dates nos. 5-8, 11, 12, 15-17 and 36 to the inter-Revolt period (AD 70-135). All of these except no. 36 are semicursive or cursive scripts, the forms that are not in fact well represented in the Herodian period by the documents discovered at Qumran and Murabba'at. Cross disputes an attribution later than AD 70:

'His evidence does not appear decisive, and I remain unconvinced. The question will be decided, however, when analysis of the late cursive is further advanced. Meanwhile the Herodian dating of the great mass of ossuary inscriptions is certain ..'

(Cross, 1961, p.191, note 12)

The term 'Herodian' here means from 40 BC to AD 70. The only formal script that Milik attributes to the period AD 70-135 is that of inscription 36 at 'Dominus flevit'. Here too the evidence (heads of zayin and yodh accentuated) is slight. Thus it remains the case with the ossuaries as with the Herodian lamp that there is a possibility of use in the time from AD 70 to AD 135, but no certainty.

At the other limit Milik assigns his earliest inscription (no. 22) to a time before 50 BC on the basis of the wide beth with large head, aleph of three strokes, heth with low cross stroke, slender kaph with small head and final nun with long, twisted hook at the top of the vertical stroke. This inscription reads:

Mnhm mn bn' Ykym khn

Both a drawing and a photograph are published (DF, fig. 18, 1) (and photo 81). An examination of these and of the tabulated scripts and descriptions of the evolution of letter forms given by Cross would seem to indicate that the forms are not decisive, as far as I can judge. The aleph fits the 'late Hasmonaean or early Herodian' aleph in Cross (1961, p.167). Compare for instance the bowed right arm and left limb coming down from

near the top in the form of the aleph of 4QSam^a (ibid. p.138, fig. 2, line 3) dated 50-25 BC. The slim kaph with low base-line might be early Herodian (with the ticks of the head shallow; ibid. p.177) though it is certainly not early Hasmonaean or late Herodian. The right-angled lower corner, though it appears about 100 BC is regular in 4QSam^a. In one case the base-line of the kaph projects beyond the right-hand vertical stroke, indicating a movement from left to right (see the remarks of Cross on the appearance and date of this in respect of beth; ibid. p.175.) The base-line of the beth may indicate the same, and is certainly not continuous with the vertical stroke. The only form (as Milik himself says; DF, p.103) that makes a date after 50 BC difficult for this inscription is the final nun with wide head, which is only found in manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 before that date. But Milik himself notes in connection with inscription 1 from Khallet et-Turi that older letter forms may be retained on the ossuaries. Moreover in the early Herodian 'round' semiformal hand the nun has a very pronounced top stroke of this type (see 4QNum^b; ibid. p.138). The only final nun which I have been able to find on an ossuary to compare with this is that of pl. III, 1, JPOS, 1928, with pp.113-121:

Shlmtzyn 'mnh

Here too the name is that of the earliest generation of the tomb (ibid. table, p.21). On the side of this ossuary a different form of final nun is used for the same name.

The ossuary inscriptions in early Jewish script can be dated with certainty to the period 40 BC-AD 70 on the authority of both Milik and Cross. There is a possibility that DF inscription 22 is earlier, and that some other inscriptions from this cemetery are later. On the whole these conclusions agree remarkably well with the dating of the pottery which is found with these ossuaries.